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The contents of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW are indexed in the *Engineering Index Service*, the *Index to Legal Periodicals*, the *International Index to Periodicals* and in *Public Affairs Information Service*.

The League's Business

National Conference Plans

Plans for the National Municipal League's first National Conference on Government since Pearl Harbor are being formulated and will be announced in the October REVIEW and by mail to members and other interested persons and organizations.

The Conference will be held November 11, 12 and 13 at the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel in Philadelphia, opening with a luncheon Monday noon (Armistice Day) and closing with another luncheon session Wednesday noon. General sessions will be held Monday and Tuesday afternoons, with concurrent group sessions on important civic and governmental problems Tuesday and Wednesday mornings. The League's annual banquet, at which President John G. Winant will deliver the main address, will be held Tuesday evening.

This, incidentally, will be President Winant's first appearance at a League Conference since his election at the Springfield Conference in 1940. He went to London a few months later as Ambassador and, unable to attend the St. Louis Conference in 1941, addressed it over a nation-wide radio hook-up from England.

Meeting with the League, as usual, will be the National Association of Civic Secretaries and the Proportional Representation League.

Survey of Wicomico County, Maryland

The League's Consultant Service has completed a brief administrative survey of Wicomico County, Maryland, for which Dr. Elwyn A. Mauck, editor of the REVIEW's County and Township department, served as director. The survey was made for the Board of Commissioners of the county.

More Studies in Augusta, Georgia

The Consultant Service, which made an administrative and financial survey of Augusta, Georgia, in 1945, has been called back to make a similar survey of Richmond County, of which Augusta is the county seat. A new proposed charter providing the council-manager form of government will be drafted and plans will be prepared for joint city-county assessment and taxation, a nonpartisan board of education, and a personnel and pension system. The work is being directed by Dr. Thomas H. Reed, who made the 1945 survey.

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Why Kill the Mayor?

AFTER the first six months of his four-year term, the Mayor of New York regrets that he got the job, says he doesn't want another term and, with refreshing forthrightness, admits he realizes that he is badly handicapped by lack of previous experience as an executive.

After he came to this country from Ireland as a young man, he worked as a laborer, bartender, policeman, lawyer, county court judge and district attorney. That adds up to a thrilling success story; but is it proper training for the chief administrator of the world's largest city with 184,000 employees and around 100 departments and agencies?

If a city manager felt inadequate in a situation like this he could resign and the people's representatives in the city council could pick a successor. But everything conspires to make the Mayor serve out his full term.

Even so, there is no real need for him to let this job get him down. Why shouldn't he divide up his tremendous responsibilities among a crew of able administrative assistants who would save him from the killing detail? The city manager of a certain city of 500,000 has two administrative assistants between whom he divides supervision of the departments. If a city manager with years of experience needs two, should not the mayor of New York have several such aids?

Come On In!*

A YOUNG man just out of the service was chatting with me the other day about the future. He was still trying to decide what to do for the rest of his life.

"I'll tell you one thing," he said quizzically. "I'm going to keep out of politics. You can have it."

I would have said the same thing a few years ago. I had no more notion of going into politics than you have—assuming you are the average American and have none at all.

I am still surprised, sometimes, when I wake up in the morning and remember that I am a congressman. But my greatest surprise is in finding myself liking politics. . . .

I had the same fear of politics that most normally sensitive men and women have. I knew that anybody in politics was traditionally a target for abuse. I knew that George Washington was accused of having "the foulest designs against the liberties of the people," that Jefferson was called "a contemptible hypocrite," that Lincoln's embittered attackers ran out of epithets only from exhaustion.

And I got my share of verbal sand-

*Reprinted from *This Week Magazine*. Copyright 1946 by the United Newspapers Magazine Corporation.

bagging. I got booed and I got hissed. But it didn't hurt. When the campaign was over I checked up and found that I had thrived on it. I not only got elected (on my second try) but I gained sixteen pounds.

Campaigning, you get to meet fine people, make wonderful friends. I wouldn't trade the friends I've made in my home bailiwick for a million dollars. If elected you get the opportunity to do things which make you feel good.

More important is the satisfaction of having a hand in the guiding of the wheels of history. The theory of our democracy, of course, is that the hand of every man and woman helps guide those wheels.

That is the way it ought to be, particularly today when the steps that government takes, or fails to take, may mean the difference between an era of unparalleled prosperity and one of great depression.

We all believe that our best hope for wise decisions by government, for the right decisions, is in democracy. But you don't make democracy work by baring your head when the flag goes by nor even by going dutifully to the polls on election day to vote "yes" or "no" on the hand-picked candidates of political bosses.

You make it work by politics—and party politics at that. Party machinery is the base of our government. To ignore it, to be superior to it, is on a par with the concept of being "too proud to fight."

To think and act this way just makes it so much the easier for party bosses to push through a primary election, at which the "independent voter" doesn't bother to vote, a Tweedledee and a Tweedledum between whom he may choose on election day. You can figure out for yourself how much force he's exerting on history.

Many more people could offer themselves for public office. If they did we would have fewer people on the sidelines complaining of the low caliber of our public servants. And if everybody can't run there is plenty of room for participation in politics in other ways: working in the wards, precincts, districts, and voting at every election.

These are days when the word "crisis" is seldom out of the headlines. As just one congressman—one politician if you like—I cannot turn every crisis into a triumphant step ahead. But I can have the satisfaction of putting in my two cents' worth of thought and effort. Believe me, it *is* a real satisfaction. It is the deepest satisfaction of politics, whether you are in it as an elected official, a candidate or an active participant in the ranks of voters.

Others more eloquent than I have pointed out the duty of every citizen to participate in politics. Yet when election time comes around some ignore it. Some take a quick look, shudder and turn away. Some dabble a toe fearfully in the political waters and beat a hasty retreat. Old hands, of course, wallow in. Some few new ones jump timidly or allow themselves to be pushed. Others stand by, half afraid.

What I am trying to tell you is that the water is really fine.

Come on in! You'll be glad you did.

AUGUST W. BENNET
Member of Congress, New York

Light for State Legislatures

Three new legislative councils bring technical aid and stimulate efforts to free lawmakers from static habits.

By JACK A. RHODES*

STATE and local government is today, as perhaps never before, in a period of fluid and crucial transition. Our time-honored instruments of government, designed to solve the relatively simple tasks in the negative police state of yesterday, are totally inadequate to solve new and immediate problems. These new duties of government in a positive welfare state press increasingly heavily for solution in the halls of legislation. Government has been forced to assume new and complex duties; its basic structural mechanism is outmoded by at least a century.

The recent war and its aftermath accelerated and made more intricate the problems of our 48 commonwealths. Many of the states, in the role of cooperative partners of the central government, were found lacking in expeditious and effective action in the face of the national emergency. The return of peace has thrust new and heavier responsibilities upon our commonwealths.

In a real sense legislatures temper the condition of life in the modern state. The popularly elected legislature is the core of representative government; yet many of its basic techniques antedate the inauguration of our experiment in federalism. Static organization, antiquated procedural machinery and lack of formal self-leadership opportunities are evils tolerated by an American public which holds in slight esteem most lawmaking activities. These weaknesses of state government have been intensified by constitutional limitations upon powers and procedures of legislative chambers. We have acted on the theory that the proper solution lies in reducing the legislature to a state of near impotency. Consequently, this branch, of the three traditional branches, is perhaps least equipped to respond to social and economic problems of life in the modern state.

The theory of representative government suggests broader discretion for internal legislative organization and procedures with sanctions imposed by an enlightened electorate through approving or rejecting candidates at the polling booth. Current trends point in the direction of: first, enhancing legislative efficiency and prestige within the existing legal framework; second, liberalizing our state constitutions.

In recent years sporadic experiments in the several states indicate that the importance of strengthening our legislatures is beginning to be realized.

Early technical aids to lawmakers culminated in the legislative research council idea, first proposed by the National Municipal League in the

*Mr. Rhodes was appointed instructor in political science at Wellesley College in April of this year. Previously he had taught at the University of Oklahoma. He is a Julius Rosenwald Fellow at Harvard University, where he received a master's degree in public administration.

Model State Constitution of 1921. The essence of the program is establishment of a standing joint interim committee of the legislature with staff aid provided by a permanent research department. Basic functions of the council are: (1) continuous and impartial research and (2) advance interim planning for the legislative sessions.

This "genuine" legislative council program was pioneered by Kansas and Michigan, both in 1933. The former is generally recognized as the outstanding pattern for a successful council program.[1] A total of twelve states now have operating councils or comparable agencies with other names.[2] In addition, Oklahoma and Rhode Island have enacted council bills but refusal of either Senate, House or executive to participate has blocked the establishment of councils. In certain other states the effectiveness of the program has been severely curtailed by meager legislative appropriations.

Complexity of governmental problems and wartime burdens of lawmaking stimulated the introduction of council bills in several states. Councils were established during wartime in Missouri (1943), Alabama (1945) and Indiana (1945). The difficult stage of experimentation seems to have been successfully passed; the adaptation of the technique to special needs of the individual state is the current phase of development.

[1]See "Better Laws Through Research," the REVIEW, December, 1945.

[2]Alabama, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, Missouri, Nebraska, Pennsylvania and Virginia.

Councils in these three states are patterned basically after the provision in the *Model State Constitution* as modified in practice by the more successful councils, such as the one in Kansas. Latest reports indicate that each of these agencies has been accepted as an integral part of the state legislature. The future of the legislative council program seems encouraging, indeed.

Missouri Committee

The Missouri Committee on Legislative Research, created by the 1943 General Assembly, is, in fact, though not in name, a "genuine" legislative council. It is composed of ten members from the Senate and ten members from the House of Representatives appointed by the president pro tempore of the Senate and the speaker of the House, respectively. Appointments continue during the term of office of the member in the legislature. No major party may be represented by more than six members from each of the two legislative chambers.

The three important activities of the committee are: (1) to maintain a Legislative Reference Library; (2) to provide a research staff to make studies at the request of members of the General Assembly; and (3) upon written request of members of the General Assembly to draft or aid in drafting bills, resolutions, memorials and amendments. All activities are supposed to be factual and nonpartisan.

As in other council states the research staff is employed on a full-time basis. The Missouri committee contemplates comprehensive studies of the eleemosynary system, penal

system, schools of the state, and the social security setup in Missouri. Some reports already submitted by the committee include: *State Certificates of Indebtedness of Missouri, Factual Data Concerning Social Security, County Poor Houses, and Eleemosynary Institutions,* as well as others of a more limited scope. The committee reports that it has drafted about five hundred revision bills which conform to the new state constitution. Plans are under way for a comprehensive study, within the next year or two, of taxation in the state.

Mr. Charlton F. Chute, until recently director of research,[3] indicates that few if any difficult problems face the committee and that "The committee and its staff have been well received." He anticipates that sufficient funds will be forthcoming to increase the work of the committee. The appropriation for the current fiscal year is $100,000; this large amount was provided for the difficult task of revising statutes to conform to the new constitution.

For the April 1944 session of the General Assembly the committee, through the Legislative Library, placed at the disposal of legislators all bills recently enacted on the important subject of soldier voting. During this special session the Committee on Legislative Research was directed to obtain data from the Social Security Commission relating to its request for additional appropriations. Factual data was requested on the question of increasing the salaries of St. Louis policemen. An analysis of police salaries in several cities in the United States was made available to the lawmakers. In addition, various factual questions, relating largely to social security, insurance, forest resources and maintenance of state government buildings, were answered by members of the research staff. The committee and its staff take pride in their high standard of objectivity in performing functions for the legislature. Here is a clear-cut recognition of the fundamental principle that the successful council must regard itself as the impartial servant of its master, the legislature.

The Missouri Committee on Legislative Research is still in the infancy stage and the difficulties of obtaining staff and research facilities in wartime were tremendous. Indications are that with an increase of staff members and research equipment the committee will pursue studies of far-reaching importance to the state of Missouri and to other states.

First Year's Work

In its First Biennial Report, 1943-1944, the committee pointed out "that never before in the history of the state has the General Assembly had its own source of information concerning any of its problems or responsibilities. The Assembly is called upon to appropriate approximately one hundred million dollars a year and to legislate upon a multitude of activities in which every Missouri citizen is engaged. In an undertaking of such magnitude the Assembly should not be compelled

[3] Dr. Chute has returned to his position as director of the Governmental Research Institute of St. Louis, from which he had been on leave of absence.—EDITOR.

to rely exclusively on the presence of information or expert service of outside sources." The report stresses the opinion of the committee "that if the activities of this committee are continued on the sound, progressive, nonpartisan basis which has activated the committee so far, it will become an indispensable tool to the General Assembly in helping it to better perform its very important functions in government."

Alabama's Legislative Council

It is encouraging to learn that the council program is spreading to southern states. The Legislative Council for Alabama was written into law by the 1945 session of the legislature; it was organized on June 26, 1945. The same statute created a Legislative Reference Service to be under the supervision of the Legislative Council. The reference service in Alabama performs the duties of the research department in other council states.

The Alabama Legislative Council follows the general pattern for the program in the older council states. Membership consists of twelve persons: the president of the Senate, four members of the Senate elected at each legislative session by the Senate for terms of two years, the speaker of the House of Representatives and six representatives elected by the members of the House. The practice of choosing members by an election in each house marks a point of departure from the usual council procedure in other states. This practice may reduce the potential danger of concentrating too much power in the hands of a few legislators who have the power of appointing council members.

The three principal duties of the Alabama council are: (1) supervision of the activities of the Legislative Reference Service to insure that the legislative intent is carried out in practice; (2) examination of the effects of constitutional provisions and statutes and of the effectiveness of operation of state and local government in Alabama; (3) preparation of suggestions for legislation, in the form of bills or otherwise, which in its opinion the welfare of the state demands, and the submission of these suggestions to the legislature.

Duties of the Legislative Reference Service include: (1) inquiry on Alabama government organization and administration; (2) studies and reports on problems of state and local government called to its attention by members of the legislature, the governor, state departments and other persons and instrumentalities (it may also engage in research on its own initiative); (3) compilation and codification of statute law at the request of the legislature; (4) bill-drafting. Other tasks may be assigned to the reference service at the discretion of the Legislative Council or the legislature.

The Alabama council has held three meetings and has undertaken a study of several projects despite the handicaps of the war period. These studies include: (1) advisability of establishing a state printing office; (2) the question of abolishing sales tax tokens; (3) divorce laws in Alabama; (4) study of state, county and municipal business licenses;

(5) improvement of methods of legislative procedure in the Senate and House of Representatives.

The Legislative Reference Service has completed over three hundred projects. Its report of January 31, 1946 (period from October 24, 1945, to January 31, 1946) shows 39 projects completed for legislators, six for the office of the Governor, 37 for state agency officials, sixteen for local government officials, seven for federal officials and state and local officials outside of Alabama, seven for private organizations and citizens in Alabama, and nine for private organizations outside of Alabama.

The report shows the nature of the projects to be: 47 on information concerning 1943 and 1945 legislative enactments, 21 on facts relating to the status of Alabama law on various subjects, twenty on research and technical assistance on state and local government problems, nineteen on the operation of Alabama state government, seven on analyses of laws and operations of the 48 state governments, and four on bill-drafting.

Projects completed by the reference service include *Mechanics for Consumer Payment of Retail Sales Taxes, Statutory Grounds and Residence Period Requirements for Absolute Divorce,* and a summary of the *State and County Privilege License Schedule.* At the request of the Governor the reference service prepared a recommended course of action for thirteen southern states in the use of regional education facilities for whites and Negroes and an analysis of the need for regional cooperation. The report was adopted by the Southern Governors' Conference with only slight modification.

At the end of the period covered by the report the reference service had the following projects on its agenda: (1) handbook of Alabama state agencies; (2) manual of information for 1947 legislators; (3) study of Alabama's bastardy and desertion and nonsupport statutes; (4) study of procedures for expediting legislative processes; (5) report on the advisability of a state printing plant; (6) estimate of the cost and work involved in making and keeping current a compilation of all general and local laws, as well as briefs of court rulings and decisions of the attorney general, applicable to duties of the Division of Examiners of Public Accounts of the State Department of Finance; (7) a study of controls which could be exercised over rules and regulations promulgated and enforced by state administrative agencies.

Adequate Funds Appropriated

During the 1945 session the legislature appropriated $2,000 annually for the council and $25,000 annually for the reference service. The report of the reference service indicated that the budget was "entirely adequate." The postwar era, however, will bring an increasing number of complex problems to our legislative councils and other technical aids to lawmakers. These agencies cannot be expected to render their maximum contribution to improving state government unless the budget is adequate for their many tasks.

As in the case of the Missouri Committee on Legislative Research, the Alabama Council and Legislative

Reference Service recognize their clear-cut duty of objective, nonpartisan service to the legislature. The report of the reference service reflects this "master-servant" relationship in its final paragraph: "Any comments which you care to make concerning the foregoing or concerning our operations generally would be appreciated sincerely. We're trying here to do, as near as we can determine, what the legislature anticipated by our creation. If we're wrong, even slightly, we'd like to know."

The record of the "infant" Alabama Legislative Council and its research department, the Legislative Reference Service, is impressive and encouraging. The director of the latter agency reports: "Our prospects, from here, are good. We have done, with limited personnel, quite a bit of work at least reasonably well. The growing pains incidental to organization, employing and equipping are almost over. With a full staff in the offing, if not in sight, we will be able to do more work better."

Indiana Commission

The wartime contribution of Indiana to the legislative council movement was the creation of a Legislative Advisory Commission in 1945. This joint standing committee of the General Assembly acts in an advisory capacity to the Indiana Legislative Bureau. The commission is composed of the president of the Senate, the speaker of the House of Representatives, three members of the Senate to be named by its president, and three members of the House of Representatives to be named by the speaker. In each case not more than two of the three members may be affiliated with the same political party.

The Indiana Legislative Advisory Commission is also a "genuine" legislative council. The legislative bureau is the counterpart of the research department in other council states. Its duties include: research and the securing of information for the legislators, bill-drafting, and the preparation of measures for the General Assembly "which will improve the form and wording of and reduce the size of the statutes of this state, and classify, reconcile and codify their provisions."

It is the duty of the commission "to collect information concerning the government and general welfare of the state, examine the effects of previously enacted statutes and recommend amendments thereto, to instruct the director of the bureau as to what research and investigation shall be made by the bureau." The commission has the duty of studying programs designed to improve legislative procedures, to increase the effectiveness of administrative organizations, to eliminate waste and overlapping functions, and to institute economies in state government generally.

The commission reports to the General Assembly and may draft tentative bills as it deems advisable for the information of and consideration by the full legislature.

The General Assembly in 1945 appropriated $30,000 for "personal service," and $6,000 for "other operating expenses" of the Indiana Legislative Bureau and the Legislative

Advisory Commission for each fiscal year of the following biennium.

The act creating these two independent state agencies became effective on July 1, 1945. The commission in Indiana is now functioning; its operation thus far has been largely that of organization. L. H. Carpenter, executive secretary of the Commission on Interstate Cooperation, reports that "there is a closely knit relationship between our legislature and this new bureau and commission."

New Impetus to Program

The three state agencies discussed herein have given significant impetus to the program for equipping the legislature for a more adequate discharge of its constitutional duties. In each the fundamentals of a "genuine" legislative council program are embodied in the statute creating the agency. The Missouri Committee on Legislative Research, the Alabama Legislative Council and the Indiana Legislative Advisory Commission have added an impressive chapter to the movement for continuous research and advance interim planning as essential staff aids for legislatures in the postwar state. Officials of these state agencies are optimistic; council advocates believe the projects are well grounded in the fundamentals of legislative council programs.

The future of the Missouri committee, the Alabama council, and the Indiana commission depends, in no small degree, on the size of the appropriations from the legislature. An inadequate budget will reduce materially their effectiveness; financial strangulation has too often been a definite handicap to the operation of legislative councils. Successful councils, such as the one in Kansas, have overcome this handicap by winning the confidence of the legislature through supplying excellent research studies, engaging in comprehensive intersession planning projects, drafting tentative bills, codifying statute law, and by expediting legislative processes, improving administrative functions and effecting state economies in general.

The principles of the legislative council idea seem to have become firmly established in many states; the period of adaptation to the needs of the individual state is well under way.

The Capital Goes to the People

Indiana officials go back to home towns to talk things over with the folks, teach government, learn of needs.

By FRANKLIN L. BURDETTE*

"BRINGING the capital of Indiana to the people" is the theme of a novel, statewide program of civic education under the personal leadership of Governor Ralph F. Gates. In carefully organized community conferences, attended by the Governor, department heads and other public officials, the work of the Indiana state government is discussed with high school seniors, college students, civic groups and the general public.

The first purpose of the conferences, the Governor has said, is "to give the opportunity to the people of each community to see and talk with the heads of the various departments of state government and to have questions answered without the necessity of traveling to the capital of the state." The second purpose "is that the heads of state departments may understand more thoroughly the problems of the local communities." Good government, Governor Gates believes, must be close to the people; for effectiveness it must meet their needs and for improvement it must depend on their support and understanding.

Beginning in December 1945, five regional conferences have been conducted, each for one day, at East Chicago, South Bend, Evansville, Terre Haute and New Albany. Not less than 8000 high school seniors or college students have attended the conferences, participating in study classes. High school or college buildings have been used as centers, particularly to emphasize among young citizens the responsibilities which confront them. All meetings and classes have been open to the public.

In each community non-political sponsorship has been arranged for the conference. Schools and colleges, chambers of commerce and service clubs have appointed committees for local arrangements. Plans for each conference are made by the State Department of Commerce and Public Relations headed by Lieutenant Governor Richard T. James. Paul M. Ross, executive director of the department, is in charge of detailed arrangements. Costs of the programs are absorbed without specific budgetary allocations by participating state departments and by cooperating local organizations.

Morning sessions of conferences have been devoted to a preliminary convocation and to three class periods attended by high school

*Dr. Burdette is associate professor of political science at the University of Maryland. Until recently he was associate professor of history and political science at Butler University and executive secretary of the National Foundation for Education in American Citizenship, whose publications he is now editing. Dr. Burdette is author of a book on filibustering in the United States Senate and editor of the *Directory of the American Political Science Association 1945*. He has served as a member of the Indiana War History Commission and as a member of the board of the Indiana Merit System Association.

seniors. Virtually all seniors from public and parochial schools have attended, transportation being provided when necessary by school buses. Depending upon the population of the region selected, seniors have represented schools in a single county or in as many as seven counties.

Classroom Instruction Given

Typically, officials from eighteen state agencies which provide extensive public services are prepared to offer classroom instruction.[1] Large attendance has at times required multiple sections in each subject, and additional sections have occasionally been organized in the afternoon. State officials are encouraged to present basic information and to afford time for full discussion and for questions. Visual aids, including motion pictures, slides and charts, are used in several classes, and literature is distributed freely.

It is understood, upon the insistence of the Governor, that instruction must be nonpartisan but that discussion may range fully over the services and problems of state departments. The State Department of Public Instruction has cooperated in making advance arrangements with schools to facilitate selection of the three class sessions which each student will attend, to encourage note-taking and participation in discussion, and to plan oral reports by students when they return to their schools.

The Governor has whenever possible visited various classes during the morning sessions and has held a press conference with student reporters from all school newspapers of the region. A civic luncheon program is usually arranged by one of the sponsoring organizations.

Group Conferences Held

Afternoon sessions are devoted to individual or group conferences. The widest advance publicity is given to the availability of state officials for conferences with local officials, citizens or citizen groups. State departments have sent hundreds of letters of open invitation to organizations, to officers of counties, cities, towns and townships, and to state officers and agents working in the area. Newspapers and radio stations have announced conference hours. Each state department represented at the afternoon sessions has maintained a separate temporary headquarters. State officials have been especially prepared to discuss cooperation or specific services in the communities of the region. Attendance at the afternoon conferences has been both representative and large.

No attempt has been made to reach final decisions at these afternoon conferences—sometimes called clinics by the newspapers. But state officials and many local groups have expressed enthusiastic appreciation for the contacts and frank discussions of problems. Delegations have from time to time presented conflicts of opinion about local or regional needs, and such occasions have

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[1]Class instruction has been given under these topics: attorney general, aviation, commerce and public relations, conservation, economic council, education, employees' retirement, employment security, fire marshal, flood control, highway commission, labor, legislative bureau, public health, tax commission, traffic safety, veterans' affairs, and welfare.

Reorganization in Missouri

Seventy separate agencies reduced to thirteen as state legislature moves to carry out new constitution's mandate.

By MARTIN L. FAUST*

WHEN the voters of Missouri ratified a new constitution on February 27, 1945, the 63rd General Assembly then in session found itself confronted with a legislative program of vast proportions which it could neither evade nor postpone.

Among the many duties included in this assignment none was more imperative than that of reconstructing the machinery of state administration. Unless reorganized in conformity with the new constitution, virtually the entire administration would be unable to function legally after July 1, 1946, the date fixed by the constitution when all laws inconsistent with it would cease to be in effect.

In spite of the many difficulties, which at times made the situation seem hopeless, the General Assembly was able to recess by April 1 with the measures embodying the essential parts of the state administrative reorganization program on the Governor's desk.

The outstanding features of the reorganization program are consolidation of more than 70 separate agencies of administration into thirteen major departments, creation of a comprehensive finance department designated as the Department of Revenue, establishment of a state civil service system.

The provisions of the new constitution designed to bring about administrative integration under the governor are unique in several respects. In the first place, the constitution enumerates ten major offices or departments and limits the legislature to the creation of not more than four additional. The legislature, under the guidance of the Governor, saw fit to create only three additional departments, the idea being to keep one in reserve for future needs. The thirteen departments are: State Auditor, Secretary of State, Attorney General, State Treasurer, Department of Revenue, Department of Education, Department of Highways, Department of Conservation, Department of Agriculture, Department of Public Health and Welfare, Department of Business and Administration, Department of Corrections, Department of Labor and Industrial Relations. Only the last three are not named or made mandatory by the constitution.

A second unique feature is the

*Dr. Faust is chairman of the Department of Political Science and professor of political science at the University of Missouri. During the summer of 1945 he served with the Missouri Legislative Research Committee and, with another member of the staff, drafted the Department of Revenue Act described here. Prior to the adoption of Missouri's new constitution, Dr. Faust served as director of studies in connection with the preparation of reference manuals for the Constitutional Convention, writing the *Manual on the Executive Article* and supervising and contributing to the rest of the series. He is author of *The Custody of State Funds* (1925) and *The Security of Public Deposits* (1936) and has contributed to various publications in the political science field.

role which the constitution assigns to the governor in the reorganization process. The constitutional convention, fearful lest the legislature abuse or fail to assume the responsibility of administrative reorganization, incorporated the following provision in section 12 of the executive article:

> Unless discontinued all present or future boards, bureaus, commissions and other agencies of the state exercising administrative or executive authority shall be assigned by the governor to the department to which their respective powers and duties are germane.

Departmental Reorganization

This provision places the governor in a key position to effect and to maintain a functional integration of the state administrative structure. Fortunately, the present governor's long service in the State Senate gave him a thorough understanding of the far-flung activities of the state and the delicate nature of the allocation problem.

Late in November he announced his plan of assignments. All existing agencies were distributed among the ten major departments required by the constitution and the three additional departments which he proposed the legislature create. His plan was well received in all quarters. It then became the task of the legislature to create these departments and to work out for each an internal organization that would make possible an organic and functioning entity.

Attention should be called to at least one other distinctive feature of the constitutional provisions affecting reorganization. This is the limitation on the duties of the minor elective executives — state auditor, state treasurer and secretary of state. Although the convention was able to move in the direction of the short ballot only to the extent of abolishing the elective superintendent of schools, it did take the additional step of substantially "clipping the wings" of these three executives. The method of the framers was to define the duties of the auditor, treasurer and secretary of state, respectively, and to provide in each instance that no duty was to be imposed on them by law which was not related to their duties as prescribed by the constitution. The immediate result was to effect a considerable deflation of these formerly powerful offices.

Of the nine departments under the governor, five are headed by single executives called directors who are appointed by the governor and Senate. These five departments are Revenue, Agriculture, Public Health and Welfare, Corrections, and Business and Administration. Commissions dominate the Departments of Conservation, Highways, Education, and Labor and Industrial Relations. The members of the Conservation Commission are appointed by the governor, but the members of all the other commissions are appointed by the governor with the consent of the Senate.

The Departments of Conservation, Highways and Agriculture have been affected only slightly by the reorganization. Highway and conservation functions as at present established are largely the result of initiative constitutional amendments adopted prior to the new constitution. In

view of the origin of these provisions and the prestige of the Highway and Conservation Departments, the convention reincorporated them in the new constitution with only slight modifications. The most important change affecting the Department of Agriculture has been the absorption by it of the old Grain Warehouse Department.

The Labor and Industrial Relations Department, headed by a commission of three members, is organized into four divisions: workmen's compensation, employment security (unemployment compensation), industrial inspection, mine inspection. All four of these units formerly operated independently of one another.

The Health and Welfare Department as now constituted absorbs the work of the former Department of Health and the State Board of Health (except the board's licensing functions), the board of managers of the state eleemosynary institutions (principally mental hospitals), the Social Security Commission, the board of managers of the Federal Soldier's Home, and the Cancer Commission which operates the state's new cancer hospital. The last two boards have been retained and allocated to appropriate divisions within the department, but all the other boards enumerated have been abolished. Activities of the department are organized into three divisions: health, mental diseases and welfare. The department and the divisions are each headed by a director appointed by the governor with the advice and consent of the Senate.

Since the constitution required one department for health and welfare, it seemed advisable, in order to avoid a topheavy organization, to create a separate department for correctional institutions. The Department of Corrections was set up with three divisions: penal institutions, educational institutions and the board of probation and parole. The director of the department, who also heads the division of penal institutions, has no authority over the other divisions. This anomalous situation is due to a constitutional provision which classifies the institutions for juvenile delinquents as educational institutions and requires that they be placed under the supervision of a board of trustees of six members.

Civil Service Provisions

The Department of Business and Administration is essentially one of business regulation and promotion. The arrangement for the most part represents a paper consolidation. Assigned to it as divisions within the department are the Geological Survey, Public Service Commission, Insurance Department, Department of Finance (banking), Department of Resources and Development, Athletic Commission, and the Division of Savings and Loan Supervision. The state civil service law placed the new personnel division which it created in this department.

This last assignment is a bit illogical, and one may well be apprehensive about the arrangement. Although provision is made for a director of the Department of Business and Administration, his position is hardly comparable with that of the other heads of departments. The division of the Public Service

Commission is made completely autonomous. For the other divisions within the department the director acts in the capacity of a business manager, looking after such matters as budgeting, procurement, prescribing a central system for their payrolls and accounts, and developing plans for coordinating their work. The only control over the personnel of the department which he exercises is over the employees of his central office.

Headless Education Setup

The new Department of Education brings together all the state's educational activities, but as established it is virtually headless. The new Board of Education created to supervise instruction in the public schools may require reports of the other divisions in the department but that is the limit of its jurisdiction over them. In addition to a number of miscellaneous boards and commissions, some of which might well have been eliminated, the department houses the nine separate boards of the state's ten educational institutions. With the exception of the Board of Law Examiners, which is under the Supreme Court, all professional licensing and examining boards have been assigned to a Division of Registration created within the department.

The real achievement in administrative reorganization from the standpoint of education is elimination of the elective superintendent and the old ex officio Board of Education. Under the new arrangement there will be a Board of Education of eight members appointed by the governor and Senate, the members serving eight-year terms, one member retiring each year. The board appoints a commissioner of education as its chief administrative officer. There is good reason to believe that this new plan, which has the enthusiastic support of the educational leaders of the state, will mean a great improvement in the state's supervision of the public school system. The amorphous condition of the department and the need of a carefully coordinated state educational program pose problems for the future.

The reorganization of the state's fiscal structure stands out as one of the outstanding accomplishments of the whole reorganization program. The new Department of Revenue comprehends all the state's fiscal activities except those of custody and disbursement of funds, which remain with the elective state treasurer, and that of auditing, which remains with the elective state auditor. The department is organized into five divisions: collection, budget and comptroller, procurement, fund commissioners, public buildings. The department and the first three divisions are headed by single executives appointed by the governor and Senate. Since the director of revenue who heads the department is a member of the Board of Fund Commissioners and acts as its secretary, he is closely tied in with the work of that division. The Division of Public Buildings is headed by an ex-officio board composed of the governor, lieutenant governor and attorney general. This board appoints the director of the division. A State Tax Commission created

under a separate statute is also placed in the department, but the director of revenue may exercise no authority or control over it.

Revenue Reorganization

Real significance attaches to the new Department of Revenue for the following reasons: it brings about for the first time a centralization of the state's revenue collections, it establishes an administrative audit system under a comptroller responsible to the governor, it effects a revision of the state's antiquated and costly system of procuring printing, it aims to establish a more effective control over the state's public structures and to develop a long term plan of public building construction. Since the state already had centralized purchasing and executive budget systems, these were simply reincorporated in the Department of Revenue measure with such modifications as the new situation required. The chief problem in setting up the new Department of Revenue has been and will no doubt continue to be the adjustment of relations between the elective state auditor and the divisions of collection and of budget and comptroller.

The reorganization had little effect on law enforcement agencies. The governor assigned to his office the highway patrol, the liquor control department, the adjutant general and military forces. The elective attorney general was unaffected by the reorganization. The other elective officers, secretary of state, treasurer and auditor were stripped principally of their tax-collecting functions, which in the case of the secretary of state and auditor had assumed vast proportions. They also lost some miscellaneous ex officio powers which were no longer germane to their duties as prescribed by the constitution.

A final and crucial element in the reorganization program is the new state civil service law. The civil service sections of the constitution did not make mandatory a comprehensive merit system. The key provision is that of section 19 of the executive article which specifies that "all employees in the state eleemosynary and penal institutions, and other state employees as provided by law, shall be selected on the basis of merit, ascertained as nearly as practicable by competitive examinations." The highway section provides with respect to that department that "the selection and removal of all employees shall be without regard to political affiliation." Another section makes mandatory merit system procedures for all employees of the institutions for juvenile delinquents.

The state civil service law which implements these provisions did not aim to go much beyond the constitutional minimum. The act applies to the positions and employees of the Department of Public Health and Welfare, the Department of Corrections, and the Division of Employment Security (unemployment compensation) of the Labor and Industrial Relations Department. Since social security and unemployment compensation have been operating under merit system procedures, the real gain is the elimination of the spoils system from the eleemosynary and penal institutions.

The effect of the act is to place approximately 6000 or about half the state's employees under a centralized merit system procedure. The state's educational institutions, the highway patrol, the conservation and highway departments, all of which have been outside the patronage orbit, account for more than 4000 additional employees. This leaves an estimated 2000 employees, principally in the fiscal and regulatory departments, who continue to be subject to spoils considerations.

The act provides for a Personnel Advisory Board of three members to be appointed by the governor and Senate. In order to qualify for appointment members must be in thorough sympathy with merit principles and must not have been politically active within one year of their appointment. The first duty of the board is to make up a register of qualified persons to hold the office of director and then certify the names of the three highest on the register to the governor. The governor appoints one of the three as the director, who is designated as the administrative head of the personnel division.

The limits of this article do not permit an extended analysis of the act. Although the limited coverage was disappointing to some, the act in other respects follows closely model state civil service laws. The provisions relating to exemptions, veteran preference, etc., seem quite reasonable. It is an excellent basic statute which can readily be extended as public sentiment develops.

It is, of course, too early to present a critical analysis of the reorganization program. There are many loose ends and numerous hurdles remain. When one recalls that most members of the 63rd General Assembly were not too friendly to the new constitution, that they received no extra compensation for their arduous labors, and that they were confronted with not one but many revision problems, then one cannot help but feel that the accomplishments in the single field of state administrative reorganization were truly remarkable.

Milwaukee Seeks Pay Justice

After many years of playing hide and seek with business cycle five governments of area try for realistic policy.

By RICHARD CHRISTOPHERSON*

WHEN the perfect administrative organization at last arrives, pay policy will doubtless become a province of objectivity. But it may well be the last phase of government to reach that long-promised land. Personalities and pressure politics have dominated our public compensation schedules in the past; they are doing so at present; there is every expectation that they will continue to do so far into the future.

And yet the road to fiscal hell is most assuredly paved with good budgetary intentions and poor budgetary execution. Even in such a Gibraltar of municipal financing as Milwaukee, four distinct crises have emerged during the last 25 years as pay planning lagged behind the course of the business cycle. Three of these crises found the municipality vainly trying to drug a rising national income and the blandishments of private industry with scattered bonus opiates; one of them saw the city in the throes of scrip financing. But, whether expressed by an acute shortage of dollars or an acute shortage of personnel, crises remain crises.

Today, however, the city, the county, the school board, the vocational school and the Sewerage Commission, though separate in organization, all pledge allegiance to a common pay plan which serves to guide both basic and "cost-of-living" adjustments. While this allegiance is subject to many reservations in practice, its mere existence makes the area no longer a house divided by traditions of non-cooperation. If the present ideal of "like pay for like work" can grow into the greater ideal of "right pay for right work," there is no reason to suppose that a fifth crisis need occur.

In 1917 Milwaukee met the first shocks of a compensation tremor that was to persist until 1921. The city's Common Council paid due attention to particular claims presented by particular groups in the fashion followed time out of mind. This crisis, however, did not evaporate with the coming of the peace but seemed to worsen gradually with scant regard for Council action or inaction. Then it was decided to turn the whole perplexing problem over to the Board of City Service Commissioners for a study of how personnel could be retained through a recognition of the relationship between "living costs and compensation rates." The commissioners complied, and thereby marked Milwaukee's first plunge into "cost-of-living" waters.

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To be entirely fair we must admit that the graduated salary increase plan first proposed in 1920 accorded very well with the justice of the moment. Had the commissioners desired to meet the rising cost of living, and that alone, they would have separated their recommendations from the basic salary schedule. This they did not do. Nevertheless, judged by the standards of its era, their proposal was sufficiently advanced to encounter opposition and defeat at the hands of the Common Council. Then the aldermen voted a flat bonus for everybody and settled back to await the crisis' end.

It never came. Compromised but not eradicated, Milwaukee's 1920 shortage of competent personnel continued to dangle over the heads of city fathers all through the following decade. As a matter of fact, when pay planning is absent pay crises seldom end: they only merge into succeeding crises. The period 1925-29 again brought municipal recruitment efforts down to the level of a voice crying in the wilderness, as the cumulative effects of nationwide prosperity became apparent. Just after World War I, then, there was evident on the Council's part an inclination to consider the new national economy evanescent; and actions that it took were confined to easing the pressure of high prices and job openings elsewhere on low income groups.

As events turned out, the new national economy *was* temporary. General municipal policy, at the cost of ten years in the doldrums, might have attained a reputation for prophesy after 1929. Unfortunately for both general municipal policy and the aldermen's place in history, however, they had initiated a series of sweeping upward revisions in basic wage scales just before the blow fell. So the city now entered upon a long depression period with its payroll grossly inflated and no visible policy except inertia.

Depression Crisis Looms

Another compensation crisis inevitably arose. At this point, though basically sound as a gold dollar, Milwaukee was forced to hoard its slender reserve of cash to the accompaniment of payless paydays and devaluated scrip for its employees. Yet they did not quit, partly because they had no place to go and partly because the city's fundamental salary schedules were still those of America's prosperous heyday. Experts were called upon to make surveys, but their unavoidable proposals for wage reductions met with stony indifference in the policy chambers. It is typical of pay studies during a depression that efforts are made to drop responsibility for the hot potato into the lap of an outsider, who can then leave town before it's too late.

With the passing of the desperate days of 1933 and 1934, the municipality found itself spared any necessity to plan progressively. Nevertheless, Milwaukee's Common Council did finally make some adjustments, although no drastic action was taken until 1940, fully ten years after the crisis had begun to appear. Slashes in wage rates were confined largely to the lower brackets, which had been enjoying a greater competitive advantage in comparison

with similar jobs in private business. A commentary on the methods used to secure these salutary ends is contained in the *Milwaukee Journal's* statement that "the mayor and other officials did this job more or less secretively, largely to avoid endless haggling and innumerable arguments over minor details." Yet, however excellent the means and motives of 1940's action may have been, the fact remains that it came about ten years too late. Any beneficial effects such singularly tardy consideration might have produced were almost wiped out by the fact that the following year witnessed a complete reversal of the business cycle.

So crisis government is born. As America endures its periodic ups and downs, no city is exempt from the compelling necessity of stringing along. The only thing left for local government, therefore, is to compensate its employees in accordance with some understanding of what workers everywhere else are earning. A fixed money wage is never a fixed real wage. Perhaps some of the peaks and hollows can be smoothed a little, but a single business such as government can ill afford to ignore the national experience altogether.

Quite naturally the years 1941-44 saw the coming of a fourth pay crisis. They could not have done otherwise. On this occasion, however, public employees, taxpayers and the municipal administration restrained themselves from trying to run past trouble blindfolded. Perhaps this crisis was too severe in its impact. An indication of the strain it placed on facilities for getting and keeping the best qualified workers exists in the decline of job applicants from 7826 in 1938 to 1579 in 1944, whereas the number of resignations quadrupled and the percentage of those passing examinations increased from 55 to 62 during a like period. Obviously 1944's candidates were not that much better than 1938's.

"Cost of Living" Considered

In any event, the aforementioned three interest groups forged a more or less uneasy alliance to conduct a three-fold attack on the compensation problem and on each other. They first sought a solution through a popular device known as "cost-of-living increments."

For this purpose a Technical Committee, composed of administrative representatives from each of the five tax-levying bodies operating within the Milwaukee city area, and a Policy Committee, composed of legislative representatives from the same jurisdictions, were set up to conduct the necessary studies. Their proposals, which established a $1620 annual "family maintenance income" for the average public employee, and calculated one standard adjustment for everybody, gained immediate approval from the legislators and continue unchanged.[1]

This was reasonably successful as a general panacea, but it evoked slight admiration from those employees nearest the subsistence borderline. While adding the same amount of money to both low and high incomes surely benefited the former more than the latter on a per-

[1]See "Milwaukee Local Governments Join in Salary Adjustment Plan," by Ovid B. Blix and Norman N. Gill, the REVIEW, October 1943, page 482.

centage basis, no appeal to mathematics could convince city laborers that they enjoyed the 82 per cent wage rise experienced by Milwaukee area industrial workers.

Consequently a laborers' "work stoppage" occurred during the month of November 1943, resulting in a grant of 200 extra hours per year at time-and-one-half to those who walked out and protests against "discrimination" from those who did not. Here, of course, city workers completely parted company with their allies among taxpayers' organizations and the political arm of the municipal government. Yet this estrangement lasted only a short time. By 1944 the concert of Milwaukee was in operation once more, and Milwaukee aldermen could again ride the compensation whirlwind without exactly commanding the inflationary storm.

Still Another Try

Now it was possible to get a final attempt at solution under way by organizing a basic compensation and classification analysis for the area. Men of the Technical and Policy Committees had put across the "amazingly acceptable" cost-of-living program originally advanced by the local affiliated taxpayers, and they still trailed laurel leaves from this success, so they set out to create another.

Their new venture was much more difficult. Between February 16, 1945, when the Technical Committee rendered its final report to the Policy Committee, and February 11, 1946, when the Sewerage Commission at last joined the undertaking, special circumstances have forced a wide variance between proposals and performance. In spite of eighteen months characterized by constantly increasing "intensifications of effort," and in spite of a million-dollar personal service boost in the city's budget alone, there has been no assurance to date that the survey's adoption will end either inequality among the five units of government or inequity in the pay schedules of each individual unit. Its achievements so far lie in other directions.

First of all, it brought the frequently quarreling factions that make up the five units together for a uniform plan. This is something which has been accomplished in no other city, not even on a ramshackle footing. Second, it subjected the school certificated personnel to a general rule and to class specifications, which is also something that never was done before. Third, it courageously ventured a lower "maintenance rate" for skilled craftsmen, instead of the "prevailing" part-time rate for full-time work they had been receiving. Fourth, and perhaps most important, it curiously has evoked sincere praise from representatives of organized, articulate, taxpaying public opinion although the program will cost their supporters plenty. The viewpoint of these worthies seems to be not that they love the Technical and Policy Committees more, but that they love chaos less.

Milwaukee can at least be credited with making a start toward justice in compensation. Whether by its cost-of-living program, payments for overtime, or revisions of basic pay schedules, the city has obviously

abandoned inertia as a policy. It is true that the mills of democratic action grind slowly and sometimes exceedingly small. From a national point of view, however, Milwaukee's recent experiences can well serve as a bellwether for other municipalities, most of which still languish in the dark ages where scientific compensation is concerned.

Perhaps if the deleterious effects of an inflexible pay policy were more clearly realized no spur to further action would be needed. Perhaps if the fact that such a policy damages public enterprise by loading up the service with inferior personnel was made plain, the "moral equivalent" of a new municipal administration would be at hand. Certainly the vision of legislature and executive as great, untrammeled neutrals in a sea of self-interest must be fulfilled before such a regeneration can take place. For it is only in this way that the dilemma of static payrolls and fluctuating prices will ever be finally resolved.

THE CAPITAL GOES TO THE PEOPLE

(Continued from Page 401)

become informal public hearings. Newspaper coverage has been extensive; in Terre Haute even questions and answers were printed.

Experimentation has revealed that, measured by attendance, the conference day is more effectively closed with a dinner meeting than with a program in an auditorium. As the principal speaker, the Governor has presented department heads with brief, nonpartisan explanations of their functions in the state service. Questions are invited from the floor and the Governor assigns them to appropriate officials for answers. In practice, questions have been less readily volunteered by the adult audiences than by students meeting in the morning sessions. To avoid preparation of questions at the state capital, however, committees on local arrangements have been asked to suggest problems of significance and interest.

More Conferences Planned

Because of the early closing of rural schools, governmental service conferences have not been scheduled from the middle of April until early fall. The five conferences already held will be augmented by at least twelve more in order to reach every section of the state. Favorable local reaction has resulted in many requests for annual conferences. The Governor expects to meet the requests, perhaps selecting a new center for each region when conferences are repeated.

The Indiana program of conferences is an outgrowth of Governor Gates' conviction that public officers, whether elected or appointed, should maintain the closest possible contacts with the people. In the broadest sense, the processes of civic education must flow in two directions. Officials and citizens are mutually teachers and pupils. Both have governmental responsibilities and, by a method of sharing, problems may be halved and accomplishments doubled.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Intergovernmental Relations Probed

Anderson Directing Project in Minnesota

A GROUP of University of Minnesota political scientists, headed by Professor William Anderson, are undertaking a five-year study of the operation of our federal system of government and its intergovernmental relations. The state of Minnesota will serve as the laboratory for this investigation. Assisting Professor Anderson will be Edward W. Weidner, instructor in the university's political science department, and a staff of research assistants. The Rockefeller Foundation has granted $72,700 to finance the research program.

Professor Anderson stated that the study will be directed toward making recommendations for ultimate improvement of intergovernmental relations. He emphasized that "with the increase of governmental activities—national, state and local—in recent decades, the relations between national and state governments, interstate relations, state-local relations and national-local relations have undergone profound and wide-ranging alterations."

Among the topics to be studied are the following:

1. As a result of recent changes in intergovernmental relations are the public services being rendered more or less efficiently than in the past? More or less economically?

2. Is there a real and measurable decline of local self-government within the state? Is the state getting weaker or stronger?

3. What methods of intergovernmental cooperation have proved most successful? What specific legislative and administrative techniques do they call for?

4. Does interstate cooperation hold out any promise of making action by the national government less necessary than in the past?

5. What is the present balance of forces among pressure groups and what is the state of public opinion on the subject of intergovernmental relations?

6. Is the trend in government toward centralization or toward decentralization? Are some phases of government tending toward centralization and others toward decentralization?

Emphasis will be placed upon certain of the major functions of government such as: public health, social security and public welfare measures, public education, public works, law enforcement, conservation of resources, finance and government regulation of labor and labor organizations and government services to labor. Each of these major phases of government will be studied in a wide sampling of Minnesota communities, and a different sampling will be used for each phase.

Several organizations interested in the functions of government have conducted or are now sponsoring related studies in this field, according to Professor Anderson, who asserts the University of Minnesota project will be the most comprehensive examination of intergovernmental relations undertaken to date.

Intergovernmental Problems of West Coast Discussed

Originally established in June 1945 (see the REVIEW for September 1945, page 404), the Pacific Coast Board of Intergovernmental Relations has been functioning for more than a year and

has held five meetings, the fifth being on June 20, 1946, at Timberline Lodge on the slopes of Mount Hood in Oregon. This meeting was preliminary to a joint conference with the American Municipal Association (western region) on June 21 and 22.

City, county, state and federal government representatives devoted the BIR meeting to consideration of welfare, education and housing. Equitable division of welfare costs between various governmental agencies was discussed and much variation among the three Pacific Coast states, as to the amounts spent for welfare and the relationship of state and local governments, was shown to exist. More federal aid was urged, including the substitution of participation ratios for ceilings. State and federal responsibilities as to veterans' education and housing were gone into.

Michigan Research Group Studies Metropolitan Problems

The University of Michigan has established a social science research project in conjunction with the Metropolitan Community Seminar and the Flint, Michigan, metropolitan community; $20,000 per annum will be expended on research in metropolitan problems in the Flint area. The program involves a permanent full-time research staff and headquarters in the area and the creation of six or seven $1,000 fellowships with additional allotments for travel. Both the work of the resident research staff and the graduate students are under the supervision of the Metropolitan Community Seminar, an interdepartmental graduate research seminar with headquarters at Haven Hall, Ann Arbor, Michigan. Its faculty includes representatives from architecture, economics, geography, political science, public administration and sociology.

Teachers Study State and Local Government

A Workshop in State and Local Government for teachers and prospective teachers of high school civics and social studies was held on the campus of Michigan State College, July 8-26, 1946. The program was sponsored by the Institute of Local Government, Michigan Municipal League, State Department of Public Instruction, State College, University of Michigan, Wayne University and the State Colleges of Education. The instruction staff was chosen from state, county and city officials and from teachers of political science from the sponsoring institutions. The program presented the opportunity to learn first hand about governmental problems from active practitioners and about the theory and fundamental principles of government from people in the educational field with a wide variety of special types of interest.

Congressional Reorganization Becomes Law

President Truman on August 2 signed the Congressional Reorganization Act after the original LaFollette Monroney bill[1] had been considerably amended (chiefly by elimination) in both the Senate and the House.

Senator LaFollette, in an article entitled "Congress Wins a Victory over Congress" in the *New York Times Magazine* of August 4, stressed the importance of various features of the act, including the reduction in numbers of standing committees, the addition of staff experts and the correlation of committee work as between the two houses and between Congress and administrative departments; continuous review of the work of related administrative agencies; closer budgetary con-

[1]See the REVIEW, June 1946, page 299, and July, page 361.

trol and better preparation for consideration of the budget; the delegation of various minor duties, nonlegislative in character, to administrative or judicial agencies; the increase in compensation for legislators and the allowance of more time for contact with their home areas.

He regretted the deletion by the House of provisions for majority and minority policy committees and a joint legislative-executive council to minimize deadlocks between the President and Congress.

Despite shortcomings and room for future improvement, Senator LaFollette commended the legislation, saying:

"By simplifying its operations, improving its relationships with the executive branch, and enabling it better to meet its responsibilities under the constitution, the reorganization of Congress will speed up the legislative process, quicken the solution of our pressing postwar problems and help the country go forward with confidence into the future.

"The ultimate implications of this proposed reorganization go far beyond the shadow of the Capitol and the government buildings in Washington. As I see it, the future history of the world will depend in large measure on the success or failure of our representative form of government in meeting the needs and desires of the people, especially in the crucial years just ahead."

Congress Requires No-Strike Pledge

Following the adoption by the newly formed United Public Workers of America[1] of constitutional provisions outlining strike procedure, Congress adopted legislation prohibiting use of federal funds, under the deficiency appropriation bill, for the payment of salaries of any employees engaging in strikes against the government, or belonging to any organization that permits such strikes.

The UPWA had declared that it was not its policy to engage in strikes—although making provision for strikes with the requirement that such action should be referred to the UPWA president. The executive board, after the action of Congress, declared that the union's president should never approve a strike "against the government," and ordered all locals with federally employed members to amend their by-laws to forbid strikes. Apparently the prohibition does not extend to strikes against a state or local government.

Constitutional Revision in Prospect for Louisiana

At the recent session of the Louisiana legislature the Louisiana Law Institute was directed to make a draft of a new constitution for submission to a proposed constitutional convention that may be called in 1948 or 1949. The institute prepared a state criminal code that was enacted in 1942 and is currently engaged in other law revision work.

Georgia County Unit System Attacked as Unconstitutional

Following the nomination of Eugene Talmadge as Democratic candidate for governor of Georgia, he having received a majority of county-unit votes although his chief opponent received a plurality of the popular vote, suits have been brought in a three-judge federal court challenging the constitutionality of the 1917 act that set up the county unit system. Under that system Fulton County, containing the city of Atlanta, counts for only six county units although it has a popular vote of about 84,500, while Chattahoochee County with a popular vote of 265 has two county units. Thus a voter in the latter county wields over one

[1] See the REVIEW, June 1946, page 306.

hundred times as much influence as a voter in Fulton County. This situation is claimed to be an abridgement of privileges protected by the fourteenth amendment.[1]

Council-Manager Plan Developments

Spartanburg, South Carolina, adopted an ordinance providing for the manager plan on July 26. Voters of the city had expressed their desire for the plan in an advisory referendum held last year.

The city of **Grants Pass, Oregon,** at a special election on July 10, approved a charter amendment authorizing the city council to appoint a city manager. The manager in turn will appoint all other city officials and employees except the city auditor and municipal judge. The vote was 120 to 103.

On June 4 **Ada, Oklahoma,** adopted a council-manager charter which went into effect July 22.

Elko, Nevada, adopted the provisions of the state council-manager act on February 15.

A charter commission has framed a council-manager charter for **Santa Ana, California.**

The city of **Coquille, Oregon,** has taken budgetary steps toward the appointment of a city manager; the city council was authorized several years ago to appoint a manager at its discretion.

The City Council of **Moxee City, Washington,** has established a limited type of manager position. The appointee is to perform several types of functions including those of city clerk, street and water supervisor, law enforcement officer and deputy sheriff.

The town of **Ripley, Maine,** at its annual meeting last spring adopted the provisions of a 1939 state act by which it obtained the manager plan. A manager was recently appointed.

The Massachusetts legislature, although it defeated the proposal to let the citizens of **Boston** vote on a Plan E charter (manager and P. R. council), authorized a special commission to study the Boston charter and all legislative acts concerning Suffolk County; the commission to include two members named by the president of the Senate, three by the speaker of the House, two by the governor and two by the mayor of Boston. In an effort to educate the Boston electorate as to the features of Plan E the Boston League of Women Voters circulated 2,000 petitions in July calling for a Plan E bill for Boston.

The charter commission of the town of **Darien, Connecticut,** has proposed an "executive agent" to be chosen by the Board of Selectmen, resembling in some respects a town manager.

The **Hamburg, Pennsylvania,** Borough Council has before it a proposed ordinance to provide the manager plan for that community.

Chattanooga, Tennessee, is to have a referendum this fall on adoption of the manager plan.

Adoption of the council-manager plan in **Athens** and **McMinn County, Tennessee,** where a group of veterans recently "took over" the administration, is being given serious consideration (see also page 435 this issue).

A referendum on adoption of the manager plan in **Charleston, West Virginia,** was scheduled for August 27.

The City Council of **Brewton, Alabama,** is considering adoption of a manager ordinance.

An active movement for the manager plan has developed in the city of **Lincoln Park, Michigan,** with leadership and support from City Councilman Walter E. Gibson, the press, the Kiwanis Club, etc.

The **Owosso, Michigan,** *Argus-Press*

[1]On August 26 the trial court upheld the 1917 act.

has editorially pointed the issue of the manager plan as a successor to the existing commission plan in that city.

In **Madison, Wisconsin,** the Citizen's Association on Municipal Government has approved a council-manager ordinance to be submitted to the City Council, and petitions have been put in circulation requesting a November referendum on the question. The League of Women Voters is particularly active in support of the movement. Chief opposition seems to come from certain labor spokesmen, who especially oppose election at large for the council.

The **Montevideo, Minnesota,** charter commission held its initial meeting in July to consider the council-manager plan.

The Charter Commission of **University City, Missouri,** has voted to draft a council-manager charter.

In **Boonville, Missouri,** Mayor S. L. Jewett has appointed a fifteen-man committee to study the manager plan as a possibility for that city.

In Kansas the cities of **Emporia** and **Ottawa** are planning to vote this year on adoption of the manager plan. In both cities the newspapers—the *Emporia Gazette* and the *Ottawa Herald*—are advocating the plan, which is also supported by the Chamber of Commerce in each city. It appears likely that a referendum vote will be taken at the November election.

The City Commission of **Enid, Oklahoma,** has agreed to call an election on a charter amendment to establish the manager plan.

A charter commission in **Beaumont, Texas,** is working out improvements for that city's government without weakening the present manager plan in effect in that city.

The City Council of **Glenwood Springs, Colorado,** has adopted a resolution favoring the manager plan, particularly in view of the impending acquisition of a municipal electric plant.

Petitions signed by 381 voters, calling for a special election on the council-manager plan, have been presented to the City Commission of **Delta, Colorado.**

In West Virginia favorable action on the council-manager plan is looked for soon in **Beckley, Mullens** and **Mount Hope.** In **Grafton** a new charter commission is functioning and is expected to give consideration to the plan.

Interest in the manager plan is being demonstrated in many other cities, including **Beacon, New York; Paulsboro, New Jersey; Hagerstown, Maryland; Richmond** and **Marion, Virginia; Fairmont, West Virginia; Statesboro, Georgia; Two Harbors, Minnesota; San Antonio** and **Cisco, Texas; Prineville, Oregon; Petaluma** and **San Luis Obispo, California; London, Ontario; North Brattleford, Saskatchewan;** and **Penticton, British Columbia.**

At the annual convention of the International City Managers' Association, held in Montreal, Canada, in June, with a record attendance, the following officers were chosen: President, V. R. Smitham, manager of Dallas, Texas; first vice president, D. C. McMillan, manager of Alameda, California; second vice president, George J. Roark, manager of Pensacola, Florida; third vice president, Rodney L. Loomis, manager of West Hartford, Connecticut.

New Orleans Charter Changes Make for Simplification

Three bills introduced in the Louisiana state legislature this year sought to simplify the governmental structure of the city of New Orleans and improve budgeting methods. Though strong opposition developed, a compromise bill providing some reorganization was adopted. The legislation was

a partial result of studies made by the New Orleans Bureau of Governmental Research at the request of Mayor deLesseps S. Morrison shortly after the advent of his administration this year.

New Orleans operates under a "commission council" form of government prescribed in 1912, to which many independent boards, commissions and officers have been added, and which was radically altered in 1936 during the administration of Governor Huey P. Long to concentrate appointments and veto power under Mayor Robert Maestri, after the "Old Regular" Democratic organization was defeated.

The first of the three bills sponsored by the Morrison administration was concerned with reorganization and redistribution of functions. It consolidated municipal activities somewhat, setting up thirteen departments grouped under the five commissioners (including the mayor). The sole appointing power formerly held by the mayor was divided among the commissioners, according to the departments assigned to each. The mayor's veto power, which could be overridden only by unanimous action of the other four commissioners, was replaced by the right to require reconsideration of ordinances or motions, and after a five-day period these could be repassed by majority vote. The bill further sought to clarify confusion that has existed as to what positions are within and outside the classified service under the city civil service law.

The second bill revised charter provisions as to police and fire functions. In the case of the police department there has been divided responsibility between the mayor, the commissioner of public safety and the police board. The bill abolished the latter and established a department of police with a superintendent appointed by the mayor with the approval of a majority of the Commission Council. Fire protection was likewise complicated by the existence of an administrative fire board, a separate fire prevention board and a fire-alarm office independent of the fire board and the chief engineer of the fire department. The legislation as adopted calls for unification of all activities relating to fire and also authorizes an advisory fire board with no administrative power but designed to give technical advice to fire officials.

The third bill attempted to improve budgeting procedure and required an annual budget prepared along the lines set forth in the *Model City Charter*.

The "Old Regulars," in opposition to the Morrison administration, introduced a charter amendment bill that would have restored the situation to the 1935 status quo. The legislature adopted a compromise bill, which included some of the provisions of the first bill described above but omitted those that clarified the status of positions in the classified service and definitely delineated departmental functions. The provisions as to the police and fire departments were enacted as stated above. The budgetary provisions were eliminated in the compromise bill. One revenue dedication heretofore required in the charter and a provision requiring a special department for the handling of special assessments were removed upon recommendation of the bureau.

On the other hand the legislature adopted a bill setting high mandatory appropriations for various parish (county) offices—the assessor, the civil and criminal sheriffs and the state tax collector. These offices are in the hands of the Old Regulars with the exception of the criminal sheriff, who had been on the Morrison ticket but had broken with the administration.

City's Activities Told in Daily Radio Talks

The city of Glendale, California, has completed a series of radio programs

designed primarily to educate the citizens about the types of service rendered by the municipal government. The talks were for fifteen minutes, each beginning at 7.45 A.M. five days a week, for two months. Each city department was given time on the air to present programs, which in many instances represented joint efforts of many employees and served to increase departmental morale. The superintendent of schools welcomed the series as an aid to the study of city government in the local high schools.

The series was conceived by City Manager Charles Baird, who reported at its conclusion that it had met with enthusiastic response from city officials and employees, and was to be recommended to cities where there are local radio stations.

Full-time Public Relations Staff for New Orleans

Under the new administration of Mayor deLesseps Morrison, the city of New Orleans, Louisiana, will have a public relations section staffed by three former New Orleans newspaper men on a full-time basis, with a secretary. The annual cost will be approximately $17,000, as against a $25,000 publicity contract under the former administration. Mayor Morrison stated that the new section is to further an "open-door" policy and facilitate free access of the press to administrative officials; in this connection it will also handle some of the Mayor's correspondence.

Cooperative Plan for War-Built Pipe Lines

As an alternative to either public ownership or ordinary private ownership of the "big inch" and "little big inch" pipe lines constructed by the federal government for wartime transmission of oil to the eastern seaboard, a "mutual-cooperative" plan has been offered to the War Assets Administration by Dr. John Bauer and Mr. James Imbrie. They propose the formation of a nonprofit corporation to acquire the lines and possibly construct an additional one, using them to carry oil, oil products and natural gas at cost to oil refineries, oil dealers and gas distributors, who would receive participation certificates establishing their rights.

The corporation would be controlled by a board of directors including not only representatives of these participants but also of city governments in the territory served, an agency of the federal government, bondholders or other private creditors, and labor and management of the corporation.

A price of $70,000,000 for the lines, on the basis of a government loan at 4 per cent, is proposed, as against a reported original cost of $100,000,000 and private offers ranging up to $146,000,000. Additional costs would be met by private borrowing. The price is related partly to the wartime character of the original construction and also to the claim that the non-profit cooperative plan would result in lower prices to the consuming public, prevent monopoly, encourage independent oil refineries and dealers, and promote free enterprise, as contemplated in the Surplus Property Act.

Distinguished Service Awards for Florida Legislators

Five members of the 1945 Florida legislature have been honored for distinguished service by plaques and medals awarded by columnist Allen Morris in the name of various Florida newspapers that publish Mr. Morris's column entitled Cracker Politics each week. According to the *Florida Municipal Record* for July, the men honored were selected by secret ballot of legislators, cooperating with the column, as excelling in law-making intelligence, diligence and skill.

Researcher's Digest . . . . *Edited by John E. Bebout*

Bureaus Report on Themselves

Review Past Activities; Forecast Future Problems

THE **Governmental Research Bureau, Inc., of Duluth, Minnesota,** Harry R. Reed, executive secretary, in its 25th annual report recalls "that the conditions which called the organization into existence at the close of World War I are again a correct description at the close of World War II." Here is the bureau's own earlier description of the conditions which resulted in its establishment "with the announced purpose of assisting city, county and school officials in avoiding waste":

"High taxes or the threat of high taxes started the movement after the war (World War I). The city needed more money, the county needed more, the schools needed more. City and county school districts had taken on new duties. City, county and schools had advanced wages to new scales. City, county and schools had to catch up with delayed programs. State taxes also increased."

The current report proceeds to analyze the present trend toward increased local services and expenditures, and restates the bureau's conception of its duty to provide citizens and public officials with the information needed for intelligent decisions and to advise them on "how to accomplish more with less."

In this and other reports, research bureaus around the country are indicating their awareness of the post-World War II challenge to a task which is "ever-changing, yet eternally the same."

The **Connecticut Public Expenditure Council** asserts in its fourth annual report that "now as never before there is need for careful stock-taking in the field of government; for re-examination, and revaluation of governmental functions, organizations and procedures; for analysis of intergovernmental relationships, both financial and administrative; for sound, long-range planning of fiscal and administrative policy; and for reconciling the growing complexity of government with effective popular understanding and control." The report continues with the observation that as the "scope of government activity broadens, it becomes increasingly apparent that taxpayers' research organizations must place greater emphasis upon the social and economic impact of governmental activities."

The Connecticut organization, of which Carter Atkins is director, reviews its varied activities at the state and local levels, including the promotion of self-surveys by local communities and the use of its consulting service by some 30 municipalities during the past year.

Writing in the July number of *GRA Notes and References* Lennox L. Moak, executive director of the **New Orleans Bureau of Governmental Research,** shows what can be done through collaboration of a reform administration and a local research bureau. Having largely completed the surveys requested by Mayor Morrison,[1] the bureau's staff is now working closely with city officials on the installation of recommendations already made. Mr. Moak lists fourteen basic recom-

[1]See the REVIEW, April 1946, page 96, also page 417, this issue.

mendations which have been made, including centralization of financial administration, elimination of seventeen special attorneyships in the city's legal department, abolition of a number of boards and commissions, establishment of a comprehensive municipal retirement system, lengthening of the work week for clerical staff and establishing of uniform personnel and pay procedures, consolidation of a number of related functions, regulation of grants to non-governmental associations which had grown to $340,000 in 1944, disposal of fourteen municipal markets, and simplification and improvement of procedures in the police department. The last recommendation grew out of a 46-page printed report by Bruce Smith of the **Institute of Public Administration**.

The Smith report recommends a drastic structural reorganization of the New Orleans Police Department to substitute unity of action for the overlapping of authority and distribution of functions among 21 separate units. Abolition of the Police Board is recommended and the superintendent of police would be directly responsible to the mayor. More effective distribution of man power and substitution of civilian for uniform employees in appropriate places would permit a reduction in numerical strength. It is proposed that ten precincts be reduced to not more than five, and a plug is put in for one-man patrol cars.

Another annual report, the thirteenth from the **New Haven Taxpayers Research Council, Inc.**, is signed by M. W. DeWees, executive director and secretary. Like other local bureaus, the New Haven council has dealt primarily with city and school problems, but it has also interested itself in the federal budget. Noting that "municipal government will be tested and will be required to do things that it has never done before," Mr. DeWees takes the optimistic view that New England municipal government may "change from a comparatively high cost . . . to a relatively low cost" basis. In the immediate future the report sees the need for modernization of the New Haven city charter as a prerequisite to approval of suggestions for new city revenues.

GRA Directory and Conference

The *1946-1947 G.R.A. Directory of Organizations and Individuals Professionally Engaged in Governmental Research* may now be obtained for $1.50 by writing to the **Governmental Research Association** at 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20. It is a well printed job, much more nearly complete than the previous directory and well worth the money to anyone interested in a handy list of names, addresses and professional personnel of "established agencies concerned with the improvement of the organization and administration of government and the promotion of economy and efficiency in the performance of public services." It is organized in six parts: Local and state agencies; national agencies concerned with governmental research; research divisions of federal government departments, a helpful addition, in view of the increasing interest of local bureaus in federal problems; unaffiliated individual members of the G.R.A.; alphabetical index of organizations; alphabetical index of individuals.

The 1946 annual conference of GRA will be at the Oceanside Hotel, Magnolia, Massachusetts, September 10-13. Members and friends are invited to bring their families and combine business with an "early fall vacation."

Secretary G. Gordon Tegnell announces that awards in the 1946 competition for the most noteworthy piece of research prepared by members of GRA will be made at the conference.

Education Through the Telescope

Just a Moment, **Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau, Inc.,** Sidney Detmers, managing director, reminds us that "from a financial standpoint, providing educational facilities is the most important service rendered by local government." The report notes that although rising costs of education in Buffalo were checked in the '30's, they have again started upward, despite the unchecked decline in pupil membership. Although past school buildings and repairs will not be completely paid for until 1960, the superintendent of schools has announced that immediate building needs average a new school per year.

The **Lackawanna (New York) Tax Research Bureau,** in its report number 6 dated August 2, agreeing with Governor Dewey that "the spending of money on education is the best of all expenditures," wonders why Lackawanna pays more than other comparable cities for principals and especially for janitorial services.

Chicago Civic Federation, Douglas Sutherland, executive secretary, has issued a 59-page report comparing Chicago teachers' salaries with those in fourteen other large cities and four Chicago suburbs, and also with salaries in other professions. The report finds Chicago teachers are on the average better paid than those in Chicago's suburbs, Chicago high school teachers receive more on the average than those in other large cities, while Chicago elementary school teachers receive less than those in other large cities. Perhaps a bit surprising is the finding that "Chicago teachers' salaries compare favorably with the incomes received by other professions," and that between 1922 and 1945, "the real salary of the Chicago teacher has on the average kept pace with variations in the cost of living." The report doubts "that the children in Chicago's elementary schools would necessarily receive any better education because of a single salary schedule for teachers" and notes that, unlike most other cities, Chicago secures its elementary school teachers from one source only: the Chicago Teachers College.

"Teachers' Salaries Go Up," is the title of the June 1946 *News Letter* of the **Pennsylvania Economy League, Inc., Western Division,** Leslie J. Reese, director. The report, based on a sampling of school districts, reports that "school boards everywhere are troubled" over the problem of "the rapid advance of teachers' pay scales without a consistent plan to finance the increases." Local pressures and needs have continued to nullify the attempt of the legislature to equalize salaries among school districts. The report continues that "the time is ripe for a thorough consolidation of school districts into sound economic units, and for a permanent delineation of the state's share of the cost of education."

The **Research Department of the Kansas Legislative Council** reports on *Reorganization of School Districts in Kansas, 1945-1946.* By virtue of Chapter 291, Laws of 1945, 1292 elementary school districts had been eliminated by March 1, 1946—a reduction of 18 per cent. Considerable variation in the rate of progress by counties was found. "The most outstanding feature of reorganization thus far has been the large number of natural community centers established." Frederick H. Guild is the department's director.

The **Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research, Inc.,** George L. Nichols, director, assuming general acceptance that a new high school is needed to replace outmoded facilities, urges that construction be postponed in view of present building conditions and the probability that no grants-in-aid are presently available. It urges careful

consideration of location, size and type of building in the light of a study of the functions of the public high school and of probable continued decline in student enrollment until 1957, to be followed by a six-year upward trend.

The **Institute of Public Administration,** New York City, Luther Gulick, director, has reestablished its graduate school of administration. The institute expects to enroll not more than eight students who must be of "upper fifth scholarship and outstanding campus or job leadership." Training schedules are tailored to individual needs and "instruction will be intensive and personal." Twenty courses cover the broad field of public administration, finance and research, including internship in public service and field investigation. Degrees of master of public administration and doctor of public administration are offered. Robert J. M. Matteson is director of training.

Material for Summer Reading

The **Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau,** beginning July 11, devoted a series of its weekly, *Just a Moment,* to a history of "The Development of Buffalo" from the earliest days to the time of the present charter. The bureau undertook this as a result of the response it received to its 1945 summer series on the present charter and government of Buffalo.

And Thinking

The **New York Institute for Public Service,** William H. Allen, director, suggested a lot of questions for "vacation thinking about school reading and histories." Sample question: "Would it be cheaper and safer for USA to buy up mis-educating texts from parents, schools and publishers, with plates, than to invite certain penalties by continuing postwar use of such texts?"

Let's Talk About Taxes and Where the Money Goes

As always, the chief talk of the researchers, summer as well as winter, is about taxes. The **Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau** devoted most of its June numbers and its Independence Day number of *Just a Moment* to this perennial. Among the conclusions indicated: The importance of equalization of assessments, the thoroughness with which the state has pre-empted possible "new tax" sources, the need for reduction of tax-exempt real estate, the benefits to be derived from payment of the city debt and adoption of pay-as-you-go financing.

A thoughtful analysis of "Connecticut Tax Prospects" appears in *News and Views—Your State and Local Government,* published by the **Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, Inc.** Tax payments for all levels of government rose from 10.3 per cent of total Connecticut income in 1930 to 40.9 per cent in 1944, dropping to 39 per cent in 1945. Although federal taxes accounted for most of this increase, state taxes increased 173.3 per cent between 1930 and 1945, of which 99.2 per cent was unemployment compensation taxes. Taxes for local government rose 20.9 per cent. Return to peace conditions should reduce federal expenditures "but may be expected to increase rather than decrease state and local activities and the taxes needed for their financing." In view of the increasing proportion of the taxpayer's income that goes to government, the "social benefits" resulting from government expenditures "become matters of increasing importance."

"No new state taxes needed" is the encouraging conclusion of *New Mexico's Tax Structure* by Rupert F. Asplund and Albert K. Nohl, published by the **Division of Research, Department of Government, University of New Mexico,**

Thomas C. Donnelly, director (31 pages, five tables).

Dollars and Sense in Government, **Governmental Research Institute, St. Louis**, is publishing a series on St. Louis revenue and expenditures. Purpose of the series is to provide a factual basis for solution of the city's problem of avoiding mounting deficits. The reports analyze receipts and revenue fund surpluses and deficits since predepression days. They show that property tax receipts are still 8 per cent under those for 1929-30, while business taxes produce 133 per cent more than seventeen years ago, and now account for 25 per cent of the total receipts of $38,457,458. Water rates and bridge tolls produce substantial sums.

Dr. Charlton F. Chute returned to full-time direction of the Institute on June 26 from leave to serve as first director of research for the new Missouri Legislative Research Committee.

Government Research, Inc., of Los Angeles, Ed F. Thompson, executive secretary, concentrating on county government, seems cheerful about increased county expenditures. Its June *Monthly Bulletin* attributes a 25 per cent increase in the county budget chiefly to the 25 per cent increase in population since 1940. An authorized increase in personnel by the creation of 2710 new positions, increase in relief costs, and substantial expenditures to replace out-worn equipment and for capital improvements are noted. In the July *Monthly Bulletin* Government Research recommended a "Yes" vote in August on seven county bond issues totaling almost $44,500,000, and a county charter amendment increasing salaries of members of the Board of Supervisors.

News Bulletins of the **San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research**, Alfred F. Smith, director, have also been concerned with problems of increased budgets and taxes. For the most part, these bulletins have been confined to factual reporting and analysis. The June 18 number notes an ordinance proposed by the Civil Service Commission which would place ten veterans of senior or graduate standing in city or county offices for intern training.

"How Much Can We Afford for Our City?" asks the **Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce Bureau of Governmental Research**, Carl R. Dortch, director, in *It Is Your Business*, which calls attention to a number of causes for increasing city expenditures including state mandates and the cost of service to suburbanites who pay no city taxes. "Sweeping reforms and revisions" suggested include scientific reassessment of property for taxes, possible annexation of contiguous territory and "revamping and modernization of our corporate and administrative structure of local government to service metropolitan areas."

The *Bulletin* of the **Rochester (New York) Bureau of Municipal Research**, W. Earl Weller, director, follows its appraisal of the effects of the Moore plan for state aid to local units by suggesting a financial program for Rochester designed to take advantage of the new state law.

A somewhat similar analysis of the Moore plan in Schenectady County appears in the bulletin of the **Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research.**

Recent publications of the **Providence Governmental Research Bureau**, Robert E. Pickup, executive director, discuss Providence refunding, the effect of population trends on municipal finances, the Providence revenue structure and the Rhode Island Community Redevelopment Act.

The June 15 and July 29 *White Papers* of the **Toronto Bureau of Municipal Research**, Horace L. Brittain, managing director, carry on that organization's practice of brief clear re-

porting on the city budget. The June 29 number also reports positive results from a campaign to obtain "citizen cooperation in civic housekeeping."

The **Citizens' Research Institute of Canada,** in Bulletin 86, makes a short plea for giving judgment in tax assessment the guidance of a definite procedure, and urges citizens to find out whether or not their city or town has such a procedure.

The **Des Moines Bureau of Municipal Research,** of which Glenn N. Hoffman is secretary, in its *Subscribers' Bulletin,* reports briefly on a number of items, including a request by policemen and firemen and day laborers for substantial increases which would amount to $240,000 a year.

The **Zanesville (Ohio) Chamber of Commerce Research Department** in the July issue of *Research Brevities* finds tighter fiscal control necessary, but holds that "Zanesville's paramount problem is getting more revenue."

Citizens' Business, published by the **Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research,** William C. Beyer, director, reports that "In its expenditures in 1944 for important services, Philadelphia ranks low among the large comparable cities in the United States." The same bulletin reports that a proposed tax of 10 per cent on charges for hotel rooms had been dropped as harmful to the city's business.

Your Tax Dollar, issued by the **Baltimore Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, Inc.,** D. Benton Biser, director, recommends that $17,000,000 of new loans be submitted to the voters at the November election: $10,000,000 water loan, $5,000,000 highway, $2,000,000 sewer.

An illuminating short explanation of the New Jersey cash basis form of budgeting "by which municipalities and counties correlate their cash income with their cash expenditures," is given in the leading article in *GRA Notes and References* for June. The article is by James A. Arnold, Jr., research associate, **Princeton Surveys,** and shows that since 1941 taxes in New Jersey municipalities have been lower under cash basis budgeting than would have been the case under other forms.

Michigan's Budget System, by Irving Tenner, **Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research** (June 1946, $1), makes some 30 findings which add up to a substantial criticism of the organization for budgeting and of the preparation, consideration and execution of Michigan state budgets. Its recommendations contemplate a budget department so set up as to implement the governor's responsibility for budgeting and control, and a reduction in the size of the legislative committees which consider the budget, with the proviso that joint hearings should be conducted by the committees of the two houses. Loren B. Miller is bureau director.

Legislation Affecting Municipal Finance in Massachusetts—1906-1945, by Thomas L. Hinckley, **Bureau for Research in Municipal Government, Harvard Graduate School of Public Administration,** Morris B. Lambie, director (April 1946, 36 pages, 75 cents) summarizes effects of major changes in Massachusetts laws concerning municipal finances.

Ten Years of Expenditures 1935-1944, Cities, Schools and Counties in Ohio, is a 44-page statistical compilation offered by the **Research Department of the Ohio Chamber of Commerce,** Arch D. Schultz, director, as a starting point for consideration of the present search by cities for new major revenue sources.

Citizen Action . . . . . *Edited by Elsie S. Parker*

Citizenship Activities Planned for School Agers

Junior Cities, Boys' Nation, Summer Camps Aid Youngsters

AT ITS last meeting for the spring season, the Students' Committee on State Affairs of the **Massachusetts Civic League** participated in three round table discussions: (1) The Judicial System in Massachusetts, Does It Insure Justice? led by Judge Lawrence G. Brooks; (2) Juvenile Delinquency—What Is Is? Why? What Can We Do About It? led by Joseph J. Galligan, South Boston district court probation officer; and (3) Should the Towns and Cities of Greater Boston Unite to Form a Metropolitan Unit with a Metropolitan Government? led by Richard Atkins, director of the Boston Municipal Research Bureau. Plans have now been made for the forthcoming season's work. It is hoped to expand the committee, thus far limited to some 25 public and private schools, to include all students in the state who are interested in state government. Ruth Staupas of Brockton High School is committee chairman.

According to *Western City,* organ of several state leagues of municipalities, the **Young Astorians,** a group of high school students studying municipal government, have branched out to form a **Junior League of Oregon Cities.** Thus far plans have been perfected for units in high schools of four other cities. Two conferences have been held with Governor Snell.

The **Wichita, Kansas, Chamber of Commerce** has arranged 59 tours of its city by schools from outside cities. The tours are conducted by social studies instructors to aid in the study of government, history and geography.

In Kansas City, Missouri, junior officer citizenship camps have been arranged for practical training in citizenship and community leadership. Participants include a hundred selected junior officers from 25 schools in the city. Each camp is organized as a **"Junior City"** with its own governmental setup. The program has been arranged by the Community Service Division of the city's Welfare Department.[1]

The Montclair, New Jersey, Public Library has arranged a series of exhibits of the work of the city's various departments. Represented were the Bureau of Public Welfare, Town Recreation Department, Health Department, Mayor's office, Department of Public Works, Police and Fire Departments and City Planning Department.

Introduction of student self-government and discussion groups into German and Austrian elementary schools has been proposed to the State Department by the **National Self Government Committee.** In making this announcement Richard Welling, chairman of the committee, commented that: "Practice in democracy in the schools now will lead to democratic government in those nations in the future."

On behalf of the committee, Dr. Earl C. Kelley, of Wayne University, Detroit, authority on student self-government, presented detailed plans to State Department officials. He suggested adoption of ten-minute discussion periods in the elementary schools as a preliminary step.

At the suggestion of State Department officials, the staff of the National Self Government Committee is pre-

[1] See also "The Children Get a Chance," by Hayes A. Richardson, the REVIEW, June 1946.

paring information on successful American student self-government programs to be sent to Germany and Austria.

Growing out of the "Boys' State" programs of the **American Legion** is the "Boys' Nation" which met in Washington in August to set up a miniature U. S. government. The 115 boys taking part in the program—a majority of them postgraduates of the Boys' State—formed two political parties, the Nationalists and the Federalists. They elected a president, vice president and congress and appointed a supreme court. Problems of the day were put before them for solution during the five days allotted to the "nation."

The Boys' State program of the legion—there is now one for the girls too—originated with its Illinois department, developing from the idea that youth "should be offered a better perspective of the practical operation of government; that the individual is an integral part and commensurately responsible for the character and success of government." The idea has spread rapidly, 1941 finding 34 state programs in operation. Outbreak of the war necessitated the abandonment of the project in many states, but there has been renewed activity since the cessation of hostilities. Participants in the so-called "state" are boys or girls of high school age, usually juniors, selected for their qualities in leadership.

Groups in Two Counties Work for Home Rule

"Any county should have the right to determine its own type of organization and should say what officers should carry out its functions," Arthur H. Campion, chief deputy administrative officer of Los Angeles County, told 500 members of the **Seattle Municipal League,** city and county officials, and visitors at the league's 36th annual banquet. The banquet was the opening gun in the league campaign for a home rule charter for King County. Mr. Campion pinch-hitted for Brigadier-General Wayne R. Allen, chief administrative officer of Los Angeles County, scheduled as principal speaker but unable to attend.

Mr. Campion outlined the operation of Los Angeles County government under its home rule charter. He pointed out the seven features of that government which, he said, have been attained in practically all county home rule charters: the short ballot, salaries fixed by supervisors, civil service, centralized purchasing, single highway administration, consolidation of offices, performance of municipal functions. In closing he warned: "Don't expect your officeholders to give you better government unless you, and groups like yourselves, insist on better government." C. A. Crosser is the Seattle league's executive secretary.

To acquaint voters with the county home rule charter idea and with the advantages to be gained from the development and adoption of such a charter, two members of the **Citizens Good Government Association of St. Joseph,** together with Henry Rolfes, Jr., executive secretary of the association, and Tom Wallace, of the **Junior Chamber of Commerce,** recently made an extended tour of the rural sections of Buchanan County, Missouri. According to the association's *What's What in Government,* the reception given these representatives was encouraging and the charter program gained many new adherents. The organization is circulating petitions to place the election of a commission to draft a home rule charter on the ballot.

Citizen Groups Report to Their Members

The latest annual report of Lawrence Bates, as president of the **Municipal League of Seattle,** covers the period ending June 1, 1946. Members, reports

President Bates, have increased from 2500 to 2845; 134 meetings of the league's eighteen standing committees and subcommittees have been held with a total attendance of 862.

During the year the league has investigated candidates for city primary and general and school elections and reported its findings to the voters; city and school referendum and initiative proposals were studied and reported with recommendations. In all, nearly 65,000 reports on election matters were distributed.

One of the league's greatest accomplishments during the year—and in the league's history—was participation in the preparation and passage of the new city charter adopted in March of this year.[1] "This new charter," says the report, "should give Seattle better government in years to come."

The league participated actively in the preparation of the 1946 city and county budgets. It has kept up a steady flow of publicity on the county's muddled finances and its committees have made many special reports on municipal and county problems.

In its *Annual Report for 1945-1946,* the **Union League Club of Chicago** states that subcommittees of its Public affairs Committee, Edward W. Martin, secretary, have individual memberships totaling nearly 800 men. When duplicate memberships are eliminated, the number of actively participating individuals is about 500, a high point in the number of Club members active in its civic work. Listed among the committee's recommendations to the Board of Directors is one asking the club to "reaffirm its support of the city manager plan as applied to Illinois and cooperate with other organizations in securing the enactment of an enabling statute in this state."

[1]See the REVIEW, December 1945, page 569; January 1946, page 31, and May 1946, page 248.

At its annual meeting for 1946, the first held since 1942, the **North Dakota Taxpayers Association,** whose acting secretary is Clara A. Kane, passed a series of resolutions, most of them in the interest of holding the line on government spending. Among other actions, the convention expressed approval of the major principles embodied in the recommendations of the Joint Committee on the Reorganization of Congress; it deplored the expansion of the federal government into fields it considered as properly belong to local government and individuals; and recommended adoption of an initiative measure which would have made it mandatory for Sioux County, because of its small amount of taxable property, to adopt one of the state's optional forms of county government as more efficient than its present form. (On this measure see also page 436 of this issue.)

The **Jasper County Tax Economy Association's** 1946 annual progress report is titled "Conserving Your Tax Dollar!!" With offices in Carthage, Missouri, the association, of which Gerald N. Hardy is executive secretary, attempts to keep citizens throughout the county informed on vital taxation matters—local, state and federal—through its publication, *The Jasper County Taxpayer.*

Citizen Planning Groups in Action

The **Louisville Area Development Association,** Kenneth P. Vinsel, executive director, has issued its 1946 "Highlights from Reports of Committees." Titled "Plans in Action," the report lists numerous accomplishments by the association, in cooperation with city and state officials. Legislation has been secured freeing the Municipal Bridge of tolls; efforts of the association's Smoke Abatement Committee have resulted in passage by the Board of Aldermen of a new smoke ordinance for the city;

more off-street parking space has been acquired as well as a new neighborhood playground site.

Legislation providing for a metropolitan sewer district has been passed which authorizes the city's Board of Aldermen to set the machinery in motion as of July 1, 1946, and provides for collection of sewer rentals as a source of revenue for the construction and maintenance of sewers in the area. Two other acts of the legislature authorize Jefferson County, heretofore hampered in its participation in the Louisville area's development by limited constitutional powers, to set aside money for a building fund and to condemn property required by the county for public purposes. The county part of the proposed new flood wall, the proposed city-county penal farm, the civic center, and many other projects which had the unanimous endorsement of the L. A. D. A., will be aided by this legislation.

"What is happening in the world's largest metropolitan region?" inquires the **Regional Plan Association of New York** in its latest publication, *You, Your Community, and the Regional Plan.* The pamphlet points out the stupendous task in planning which lies before the citizens of the New York area stretching into three states, and reports on the work of the association. Frederick P. Clark is planning director.

The **Citizens Planning Association for the Development of the Cincinnati Area** discusses "Planning for Housing" in its July *Planning and Development News.* In its summary the article comments that "legislation, good planning, including the execution thereof, and neighborhood group action appear to be three of the most important parts in planning for housing." Walter R. L. Taylor is executive secretary.

Support for Toledo Charter

The **Municipal League of Toledo, Ohio,** Ronald E. Gregg, executive secretary, is conducting a vigorous campaign in support of the city's council-manager-P. R. charter, now under attack. It is asking citizens to serve on a fact-finding City Government Survey Committee sponsored by the league to study the strengths and weaknesses of (1) the present form of city government; (2) other plans publicly sponsored; (3) other plans or methods brought to the league's attention. It asks for suggestions for a better city government.

* * *

Manager vs. Mayor

In Madison, Wisconsin, where a manager ordinance will be voted on at the fall election, the **West Side Business Men** held a debate on "Manager vs. Mayor." C. K. Alexander, research director of the Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, spoke for the manager plan; Former Alderman Stuart H. Becker, for many years a member of the Madison Common Council, supported the mayor form.

* * *

With the Women Voters

The **Wisconsin League of Women Voters,** Mrs. William A. Norris, president, reports that the **Wauwatosa** branch of the **Milwaukee County League of Women Voters** has appointed a youth committee, responsible for supplying high school social science departments with league material and for conducting tours to the city hall, court house, common council, etc.

Two new leagues have joined the Wisconsin group—**Rice Lake,** Mrs. William A. Cameron, president; and **Edgerton,** Mrs. Woodrow W. Hass, president. The Rice Lake group is making a survey of its community with the aid of the league pamphlet, "Know Your Town's Future."

The five **Leagues of Women Voters** in **Fairfield County, Connecticut,** are planning to continue their weekly broadcasts in the fall. In the past, members

of each of the leagues have taken turns appearing on the air. Other local Connecticut leagues which have been broadcasting include **South Windsor, Woodbury, West Hartford, Wethersfield,** and **Farmington.** The **Connecticut** league has issued a plea for script writers for its news broadcasts on "What's Going On in the World." Mrs. John G. Lee is state president.

Current best buy in league material, says *The Active Voter* of the **New York City League of Women Voters** (Mrs. Walter Neale, president), "is a one-page guide to the New York City Council which gives a bird's-eye view of the seating arrangement at Council meetings, the order of business, typical examples of Council 'jargon,' tells you how to address your city representatives and lists the Council's standing Committees." Its cost is five cents per copy.

The **Illinois League of Women Voters** has issued its 1946 *Illinois Voter's Handbook.* Prepared by Mrs. Robert C. McNamara, the book may be purchased through the Illinois league, Chicago, at 50 cents per copy with discounts for quantity purchases. Mrs. Walter T. Fisher is state league president.

The **New York State League of Women Voters** has elected Mrs. M. E. Cummings as president to succeed Mrs. Charles E. Heming, forced to resign because of illness. Mrs. Heming continues in her capacity as director of the national league and ex officio member of the state board.

"Before you vote consider the record," warns the **Missouri League of Women Voters,** Mrs. Wendell H. Griffith, president. In its **Bulletin** the league sets forth the voting records on important issues of Missouri members of Congress and representatives in both houses of the Missouri legislature.

The **Georgia League of Women Voters** has questioned state candidates on important issues and published their replies, together with biographical information, in a broadside to which they have given wide distribution. Mrs. Charles R. Leibman is state president.

* * *

Young Voters Active

With "a lot of civic fish to fry," the **Young Voters** of the **Hamilton County (Cincinnati) Good Government League,** organized in the spring, have plans for the fall and winter well under way. Meetings have been addressed by Professor Spencer Shank of the University of Cincinnati, who spoke on "How Can We Keep the Ideals for Which We Fought?" and Hon. Murray Seasongood, former mayor of Cincinnati, whose address was on "A Progressive Program for Young Voters." Another meeting discussed organization plans, proposed officers, amount of dues, etc. The latter were set at two dollars for all voters 30 years of age or less. At this meeting topics for future consideration were weighed and a vote "in order of choices" was taken on topics and methods of dealing with them—whether by members' papers, outside speakers, or discussion. W. Charles Sulan was appointed temporary chairman of the group.

* * *

A Prize Winning Idea

The **United States Junior Chamber of Commerce,** at its convention in Milwaukee, awarded the **Yonkers (New York) Young Men's Chamber of Commerce** first prize for activity in the field of tax education in a contest participated in by 1,100 junior chambers. The award, a bronze plaque, was made by a committee of 25 to the Yonkers group because of its School of Civic Service, a project now being copied all over the country. The school consists of a series of meetings open to the public at which city officials explain their work and conduct discussions. The Yonkers group had previously won two

state awards for its school.

* * *

Citizens on the Air

The August schedule for radio programs sponsored by the **Massachusetts Civic League,** Miss Katherine V. E. Lyford, executive secretary, covered a series of talks on problems of the veteran. The programs have been prepared by the league's Research Committee on Special State Problems.

The "Taxpayers Meeting of the Air," a weekly radio program of the **New Jersey Taxpayers Association,** of which A. R. Everson is executive vice president, has recently completed two years on the air.

* * *

Budget and Assessment Hearings

Citizen groups are announcing the dates of hearings on budgets, assessments, etc., in order that those interested may be aware of their opportunities for protest. The **Taxpayers Association of New Mexico,** in its *Tax Bulletin,* calls attention to the itinerary arranged by the State Tax Commission for hearings on county and municipal budgets. These hearings, suggests the bulletin, "afford taxpayers and citizens an opportunity to learn something about the details of our public business." Rupert F. Asplund is director.

The **Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance,** Paul N. Reynolds, executive director, calls attention by means of *The Wisconsin Taxpayer* to meetings of boards of review throughout the state. Owners of property who are dissatisfied with their 1946 local assessments must appear before these boards to obtain adjustments. A recent issue of the bulletin of the alliance describes the work of boards of review.

"What's Going on at City Hall," a department in *Minneapolis Civic Activities* published by the **Minneapolis Civic Council,** reports that during the first four days of meetings of that city's Board of Equalization, one lone citizen appeared to protest the assessed value of his property. It comments that "Minneapolitans are apparently well satisfied with the work done by the assessor's office." Allen H. Seed, Jr., is executive vice president and secretary of the Civic Council.

* * *

'Equal Pay for Equal Work'

The Board of Trustees of the **Citizens Budget Commission of New York City,** at its annual meeting in June, adopted a resolution calling for reclassification and standardization of the positions in the local civil service. The resolution called for equal pay for equal work, with modern personnel methods applied to all the civil service. Harold Riegelman, counsel to the commission, spoke in support of the resolution. He pointed out that the city's classification is more than 40 years old and asserted that reclassification and standardization would revitalize the service rating system, lift employee morale and provide a real incentive to more efficient and economical work.

* * *

Strictly Personal

The Unicameral Citizens Organization of Missouri, which plans to submit to the voters of the state a constitutional amendment providing for a one-house legislature, has made **Stratford Lee Morton,** a member of the National Municipal League's council, its temporary chairman.

Dr. Charles E. Merriam, professor emeritus of political science at the University of Chicago, addressed the Chicago City Club on "Consolidation of the Chicago Park District with the City of Chicago."

The Citizens Budget Commission of New York City has elected **William Church Osborn** as its president. **Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler,** former president of Columbia University who served as president since the establishment of the commission in 1932, was chosen honorary president.

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.*
(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Costa Rica Holds P. R. Election

New Electoral Code Calls for Party List System

SIXTEEN of the 30 seats in the National Congress of Costa Rica were obtained by the National Republican party in the election of February 10, 1946. The election was held under the proportional representation system which has been used, with occasional modification, since 1913—the earliest use of the proportional principle for public elections in North America. A new electoral code making substantial revisions but preserving the aim of proportionality was enacted in March of this year.

The system of election as devised in 1913 gave more than proportional representation to the majority party. A transferable vote system was used permitting votes in excess of the quota to be transferred to subsequent choices marked on the ballots. There was, however, no transfer of ballots by elimination of candidates at the foot of the poll. Instead, all places not filled by full quotas of votes originally cast or transferred as surplus were assigned to the party list having the greatest number of votes. The use of a relatively high quota (total vote divided by number of places[1]) tended to increase slightly the number of places thus awarded as a "bonus" to the largest party.

The disposition of these remainder places was altered in the electoral law of 1927, which provided that they should be divided among the contending parties, the first place being awarded to the party with the largest vote, the next to the party with the next largest vote, and so on in rotation.

This year's election under this system gave a close approximation to proportionality, as the results in the accompanying table show.

Party	*Votes*	*Per Cent Votes*	*Seats*	*Per Cent Seats*
National Republican	50,387	51.4	16	53.3
Democratic	42,180	43.1	13	43.3
Popular Vanguard	5,425	5.5	1	3.3

The new electoral code adopted in March provides for a party list type of proportional electoral system, with each list obtaining in the first instance as many seats as it has quotas (the quota being the total vote divided by the number of places to be filled). The remaining seats, if any, are distributed among the parties in the order of the size of the remainders. Parties which do not poll 75 per cent of a quota are excluded in this distribution. Certain supplementary alternate members are chosen in each electoral district by distribution among all parties polling at least 75 per cent of a quota in order of the size of the vote cast.

Wm. Redin Woodward
New York

[1]This is known as the Hare quota. Practically all other places employing the single transferable vote, or Hare system, in their elections use the so-called Droop quota found by dividing the total number of ballots by one more than the number to be elected, adding one to the result, disregarding fractions. This is the smallest number that will assure election no matter how the votes may be distributed among the candidates.

Winnipeg Legislative Members Chosen by P. R.

The election of ten members of the Manitoba legislature from the district of Winnipeg, on October 15, 1945, was by the single transferable method of P. R., in use since 1920.

The Conservative and Liberal parties, joined in support of a coalition government, put up five and four candidates respectively; against the coalition were eleven candidates, six from the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, two from the Labor-Progressive party (formerly Communist), two from minor parties (including a bolting Social Credit candidate) and one independent.

Four candidates were elected on first choices, one Liberal, two C.C.F. and the independent anti-coalition candidate. The ten finally elected included four CCF, one Labor-Progressive and one independent on one side, and three Liberals and one Conservative on the side of the government in power.

The two minor parties which failed to obtain any representation cast but 1 per cent of the vote. The other five political groups (four parties and one independent) obtained a proportion of the representation corresponding within 3 per cent to the proportion of the total first-choice vote polled by the candidates of these groups.

W. R. W.

English Society Reports on Continental Elections

The 1946 *Annual Report* of the British Proportional Representation Society, in addition to reviewing elections many of which have already been reported in this department, mentions several instances of activity in promotion of improved electoral systems.

In the British zone of Germany, after certain difficulties had arisen in connection with a newly devised hybrid electoral system, the Control Commission obtained advice from the Proportional Representation Society, but the short time available to John Fitzgerald, the society's secretary, on his visit to Germany for the purpose, did not permit anything more fundamental than a little expert patchwork.

The society's report expresses the hope "that when the drawbacks become evident in practice Germany may turn to the single transferable vote for the remedy." It is interesting to note that the departure from the list system of proportional representation previously used in Germany, and recently used in the American and French zones, was stated to be because "the Germans had expressed a wish to abandon the list system in favor of one giving scope for the personal factor, but they were aware of the drawbacks of a majority system."

In its report on Holland, the British society comments on the first use of the single transferable vote in that country, in the indirect election of emergency municipal councils. The report quotes a Hague correspondent who, in writing of the elections, commented: "Everything went very smoothly, no difficulties were experienced. Practically no votes were spoiled."

The report notes a change in the Danish electoral law permitting the voter to indicate preference for one individual candidate on what is otherwise a party list ballot in elections previously held on a straight list system.

Although gratified by the comparison of the P. R. election in France in October 1945 with previous elections under the single-member district system, the British society viewed with some regret the selection of the list system in a most rigid form. Its report comments:

> It is curious that of all possible variations of P. R. France should choose the German one. The impos-

sibility of expressing any preference as between candidates is giving rise to great dissatisfaction among the French people, though the majority, even of deputies, clearly do not realize that there is any means of providing for such expression without sacrificing justice between parties. Our society is doing its best to make Frenchmen aware of the way in which the single transferable vote combines freedom of choice with justice.

Greetings from Britain

The British P. R. Society, at its annual conference in June, cabled greetings to the editor of this department in these words: "Annual meeting British Proportional Representation Society 20 June sends warm greetings to fellow reformers. Welcomes increasing world-wide interest in fair representation and in grateful memory of John Humphreys determines vigorously to continue the fight."

W. R. W.

Council Vacancy Elections in New York and Long Beach

An instructive contrast in methods of filling vacancies under P.R. is afforded this year by the neighboring cities of New York and Long Beach, New York.

In New York two councilmen, one for the borough of Manhattan and one for Queens, resigned to take other positions and their places were filled, in accordance with the New York charter, by citizens of the same borough and party appointed by the remaining members of the Council. Because of a state constitutional provision, however, such an appointment can last only till the end of the year in which it is made and the vacancy must be filled by the voters at the next general election. Since a single vacancy cannot be filled by P.R., the ordinary plurality voting machinery is used, partisan primaries and all. The result may be to give the vacant place to a party or group of voters already fully represented, and to leave those who elected the vacating member without any representation at all. This year the vacating members were both nominees of the Democratic organization, which customarily wins borough-wide elections on the plurality plan, so no great injustice may be done.

In Long Beach, as in Yonkers, a better plan is used, which permits the voters left without representation by the vacancy to fill it. Although it is impossible to identify these voters, it is not impossible to identify their ballots, which show their order of choice among the candidates at the time of the last election. These particular ballots—the quota that elected the vacating member and the usually smaller number that helped elect no one because all their choices were either defeated or elected by others—are recounted according to the principles of the Hare system to determine who is their majority choice for the vacant place. Since such a recount is an election and not an appointment, the state constitution permits its result to stand for the balance of the unexpired term.

A member of the Long Beach City Council died this spring and his place was filled by a recount on June 13. Since both the vacating member and the runner-up at the last election were Democrats and most of the latter's ballots figured in the recount, having elected no one at the regular election, it is not surprising that the two leading candidates in the recount were Democrats. The runner-up at the regular election was elected to the vacant place and the general make-up of the Council remained unchanged.

Long Beach Fight on P. R. Dropped

The Democratic organization of Long Beach, which had fought the adoption of P.R. bitterly and lost its control of

(Continued on Page 441)

Tennessee County Mixes Bullets and Ballots

Political Machine Bosses Challenged by Veterans

IN THE elections held August 1 in McMinn County, Tennessee, bullets were freely mixed with ballots, making the election, without doubt, the most spectacular in the United States for many a year. The town of Athens, Tennessee, with a population of 7,000 persons, temporarily became a flaming battleground reminiscent of comparable towns in Europe in which many of the participants had recently fought.

Major interest centered in the election of county sheriff. The well organized local political machine was fairly liberal in granting permission to residents of the county regarding their privilege of voting, but it guarded closely as its own secret ritual the prerogative of counting the ballots.

A group of young men of the county, even while fighting as United States soldiers far from the shores of home, saw a disconcerting resemblance in the doctrines of the enemies of the United States and the practices of their county government. They resolved that, given the opportunity, they would turn that government back into the channels of democracy.

These young men, upon their return home, immediately began to mold that opportunity within which they expected to operate. They organized to meet the challenge of the political machine in a test of ballots in the county elections. They nominated an ex-GI slate of candidates for various county offices to oppose the machine candidates. They appointed poll watchers to observe the balloting process. They appointed representatives to participate in the counting of the votes.

The machine bosses quickly realized that their power was in jeopardy. They imported "guards" from outside the county to "protect" the elections. They announced that the ballots would be counted only by "regular" Democrats.

On election day the special deputies decided that the ex-GI poll watchers were disturbers of the peace. Several were arrested and imprisoned and others were held incommunicado under the watchful eyes of special guards. A temporary distraction permitted two ex-GI's who were detained in this manner to make a successful lunge for liberty and, after necessary first aid treatment, they reported at their headquarters the terroristic tactics of the special guards. Shortly thereafter various types of firearms began to appear on the streets in the hands of the ex-soldiers.

As the day drew to a close, a public count of the ballots was begun, but returns of two-to-one in favor of the ex-GI ticket proved most embarrassing to the machine-selected election judges. To secure a more favorable environment they moved the ballot boxes containing the uncounted ballots to the seclusion of a jail cell.

At this stage of the proceedings, the emphasis shifted from ballots to bullets. The ex-GI leaders demanded return of the ballot boxes and upon refusal they began a six-hour siege of the jail. The special deputies who had barricaded themselves inside the jail threatened to kill the ex-GI hostages who had been arrested and imprisoned, but at 2 A.M. their ammunition was exhausted and they surrendered. There were numerous injuries but no fatalities. The deputies, in turn, became prisoners.

The victorious ex-GI party proclaimed at once that its ticket was elected, and no machine candidates or county officials were in evidence to dispute the point. The machine boss, the sheriff and others prominent in the machine had left the county. From unknown whereabouts the sheriff submitted his resignation. The election commissioner decided to certify that the five ex-GI candidates for county offices were duly elected, and a rump county board was "persuaded" to appoint the victorious ex-GI candidate for sheriff to fill the unexpired term of his predecessor. The board also accepted the resignation of Boss Cantrell, who had served as its chairman and as justice of peace. The coroner, who had served as chief deputy to the sheriff, was removed by the board.

One of the leaders of the GI group has announced plans for a public mass meeting to obtain backing "for a complete change in our city and county forms of government." He added that the veterans wished to "institute city and county manager forms of government as quickly as possible."

Peace is returning to McMinn County, Tennessee.

Yell County, Arkansas, Sounds Off

The ex-GI's of Yell County, Arkansas, taking their cue from McMinn County, Tennessee, have set out to overthrow the political machine in control of their government. They are calling mass meetings, compiling their slate of candidates for various county offices, and touring the county with placards in support of their cause.

North Dakota Amendment Fails

A proposed constitutional amendment, under which Sioux County, North Dakota, which has the lowest assessed valuation in the state, would have been obligated to choose one of the optional county plans provided by the 1941 legislature, was defeated by a popular referendum which rejected also several other proposed constitutional changes.

Arlington County Adopts Pension System

The Board of Supervisors of Arlington County, Virginia, has enacted an ordinance placing all full-time employees of the county, except the manager, under a retirement system. Participation by policemen and firemen is mandatory but for other full-time employees it is voluntary.

The county board appropriated $50,000 for initial financing. The major source of revenue, however, will be a 3½ per cent salary deduction from the pay checks of all participants in the plan. Retirement benefits are graduated from $52 monthly after eighteen years of service to $80 monthly after twenty-five years for policemen and firemen. For other employees the minimum is dropped to $40 monthly after twenty years of service, and the maximum is placed at $80 monthly after thirty years. Policemen and firemen become eligible at 55 years of age, other county employees at 65 years. The ordinance provides also for the payment of $10,000 to the beneficiary of a policeman or fireman killed in the course of duty.

The plan will be administered by a pension and retirement board composed of the county treasurer, a member elected by the policemen and firemen, a member elected by the other participating county employees and two members selected by the county board.

Monroe County, New York, Assumes All Welfare Functions

Under the option provided by the Ostertag Law, Rochester, New York, has voted to transfer all welfare func-

tions to Monroe County. Present city welfare employees will be transferred to the county. The consolidation will result in a substantial increase in state aid and a considerable saving to local taxpayers.

Iowa County Plans Pay-As-You-Go

Woodbury County, Iowa, home of the currently popular "Sioux City Sue," also thinks of bond issues and tax revenues. The Taxpayers Conference of the county anticipates that the county's capital improvement program during the next ten years will cost $5,000,000 more than can be provided on the basis of current taxes at prevailing rates. In order to adopt a pay-as-you-go plan and avoid bonded indebtedness and further burdens on real estate, it proposes that additional revenue be raised by licensing taverns to sell liquor by the drink, adoption of a city automobile tax, amusement tax, and cigarette tax, and an increase in the state sales tax.

Nebraska Counties Plan Consolidation

Frontier, Red Willow and Gosper Counties, Nebraska, are initiating action by which the three counties will be consolidated into one. Petitions are being circulated and if they are signed by at least 40 per cent of the voters who cast votes for the governorship in the last preceding general election, the commissioners of the three counties will draft within the following six months a plan for consolidation. To be adopted, the plan must then secure a 60 per cent affirmative vote in the subsequent referendum.

Baltimore County Manager Plan Candidates Defeated

In the recent Democratic primary election in Baltimore County, Maryland, a group of local citizens formed a "county manager ticket" and ran for nomination for the county board of commissioners on the pledge they would install a manager plan if nominated and elected. They were defeated, however, in the primary elections.

Cooperative Office Building in Kansas

A joint county-township office building for northeast Johnson County, Kansas, has been approved by county commissioners and the Mission and Shawnee Township boards. It will house the road patrol office, the police and fire services, and possibly the office for issuance of automobile licenses.

City-County Airport in Minnesota

Crow Wing County and the city of Brainerd, Minnesota, have adopted resolutions appropriating sums of $20,000 each for the construction of a joint city-county airport. An additional $120,000 will be supplied by the state of Minnesota and the federal government.

Pennsylvania County Controllers Meet in Pittsburgh

The annual convention of the Pennsylvania State Association of County Controllers is being held in Pittsburgh this month.

Wisconsin County Government Committee Progresses

The Wisconsin Interim Committee on County Government has closed its public hearings and will draft preliminary reports. One subcommittee is drafting a report on constitutional changes and another is working on statutory changes which will not require constitutional amendments. These reports will be presented to the whole committee on September 23.

Taxation and Finance . . . . *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

New Revenues for Cities Continue in Limelight

St. Louis Tries Income Tax; San Diego Adopts Sales Tax

MUNICIPAL taxes based on sales and income continued to hold the interest of local officials and taxpayers during the summer. The city of St. Louis joined Philadelphia and Toledo in imposing a municipal income tax while San Diego adopted a city sales tax. The Atlantic City sales tax, however, adopted under a 1945 act of the New Jersey legislature, was ruled invalid on the grounds that the enabling act was special legislation.

The St. Louis municipal income tax was adopted July 10 and became effective August 1. It will be levied at the rate of ¼ of 1 per cent on gross income from salaries, commissions and other personal income and on the net income of corporations and businesses. Individual income taxes will be paid by withholding on the part of the employer where this method is applicable, with payments due quarterly on January 15, April 15, July 15, and October 15. Individual taxes not payable by withholding will be due annually by March 15. Business and corporate income taxes will also be payable March 15 annually.

The new income tax is expected to yield St. Louis about $4,000,000 annually. Of this amount about $650,000 is expected to come from corporations and businesses and the remainder from individuals. The yield is expected to be distributed about $2,100,000 for salary increases, about $1,650,000 for other operating purposes, and about $250,000 for restoration of services curtailed because of lack of funds.

Prior to enactment of the income levy, St. Louis had considered adoption of a sales tax. While the proposals were under consideration, a St. Louis representative in the Missouri legislature sought to block the use of either device by introducing a bill prohibiting cities, towns and villages from assessing and collecting income, sales or use taxes and providing the unusual penalty of forfeiture of the municipal charter. Other cities joined St. Louis in defeating the bill.

San Diego Adopts Sales Tax

On July 1 a city sales tax of ½ of 1 per cent went into effect in San Diego, which expects to secure upwards of one million dollars of new revenue from the excise. The tax will apply at the retail level. It will include sales by retailers where deliveries are made outside the city limits. Returns will be quarterly.

About the same time that San Diego was acquiring its sales tax, Atlantic City lost the first round in a court battle to retain its 3 per cent retail sales tax which went into effect May 29, 1945. The New Jersey Supreme Court held the tax unconstitutional on June 14, ruling that the enabling legislation was so drawn as to limit the authorization to a class of which Atlantic City was the sole example. The decision will be appealed to the state's highest tribunal, the Court of Errors and Appeals.

Tax on Utility Bills Voided

City taxes based on sales of a special type also received a setback during the summer when the Ohio Supreme Court held illegal a tax levied by the city of Youngstown on consumers' utility bills. The rate was 2½ per cent of the amount of the bill. A 5 per cent

tax on utility bills levied by Columbus, and similar taxes levied by various other Ohio cities, were reported jeopardized by the court's opinion.

Earlier in the year, as previously reported, New York City returned its sales and use tax to 2 per cent (it had recently been 1 per cent), while a municipal sales tax was adopted by the city of Los Angeles. A number of cities are studying sales tax and income tax proposals, and it is reported that the Madison, Wisconsin, City Council has requested a council committee to draft a city income tax ordinance.

Billion in Soldiers' Bonuses Considered

Bonuses to veterans of the last war adopted or being considered by eight states are reported to provide for nearly a billion dollars of payments.

Three states have already started payment of their bonuses. In 1942 Vermont began payment of bonuses up to a maximum of $120 each, expected to cost the state about $4,000,000 to be paid from surplus and current funds. New Hampshire initiated its bonus in 1943, paying from a $4,000,000 bond issue up to a maximum of $100 to each veteran. The bonds are being retired from a special three-dollar poll tax. Massachusetts began distribution last year and is paying from $100 up to a maximum of $300 to ex-service personnel with overseas duty. It is estimated the cost will be upwards of $180,000,000.

This year legislatures in Illinois, Rhode Island and New York enacted bonus measures which must be ratified by the voters to become effective. The Illinois measure will pay $10 per month of service for domestic duty and $15 per month for foreign duty, and will be financed by a bond issue of about $385,000,000, to be submitted at the November election. Rhode Island's bonus will amount to $200 each for veterans and merchant seamen and will be financed by a $20,000,000 bond issue to be submitted at the fall election.

The New York bonus measure will provide payments ranging from a minimum of $50 to a maximum of $250, depending on length and type of service. If a veteran is deceased payment will be made to the next of kin. The act provides for a $400,000,000 bond issue to provide the money. The statute must be re-enacted by the 1947 legislature and then approved at a referendum in the fall of 1947 before it becomes effective.

In two other states—Maine and Michigan—legislatures assembled in special session during the summer to consider soldiers' bonuses.

Miami Beach Using Meters on Parking Lots

Miami Beach, Florida, which is one of many cities experimenting with municipal parking lots in an effort to relieve street congestion, is using parking meters on municipal parking lots to help defray costs and discourage all-day parking.

One lot is already in operation and three more are expected to be completed by November. Eventually, sixteen lots are planned, with a capacity of 4,000 cars at one time. The program will be spread over a five-year period, and will cost an estimated $300,000 to be raised by a bond issue. Six of the lots will be on land already owned by the city while sites for ten will be acquired by purchase.

New York Airport Authority Hits Snags

New York City's new Airport Authority, created earlier this year at the insistence of Mayor O'Dwyer and his public works expediter, Robert Moses, to take over operation of La Guardia

Field and the new Idlewild Airport, appears to be dying on its feet. Two of its three-member governing body have resigned, and the proposal to have the authority acquire the two large city airports is being scrapped in favor of operation of the major metropolitan airports by the Port of New York Authority, an agency which many observers had contended should be given the job at the time the separate authority proposals were first advanced.

The new authority met its first headache when it attempted to "renegotiate" the contracts with the air lines for facilities at Idlewild. These contracts were signed during the La-Guardia administration on a basis said at that time to assure self-support of the field after full-scale operations were attained. The air lines were adamant, and there was immediate talk of taking the New York metropolitan area trade to Newark airport. Further difficulty was encountered when it became evident to the city administration that authority bonds would necessarily bear an interest cost higher than that for city general obligations, throwing cost estimates and expectations for the entire project out of line.

Late in July the Port of New York Authority, which had been requested by the Newark City Council to state its terms for taking over the Newark airport, announced its plans for taking over both the Newark airport and the Port of Newark. While the terms were criticized in Newark in some quarters as not being sufficiently profitable to that city, the move was immediately countered by New York City, which asked the Port Authority to investigate the possibility of operating the city's two large fields. With this move the separate New York Airport Authority appears to have quietly passed out of the picture.

Since the task of the Port Authority embraces all transport in the port area, and air transport is now a vital part of the whole, many observers are hoping that the bi-state agency will assume the obligation of operating both the New York City and Newark airports, ending a senseless intercity rivalry, improving airport facilities for the area, and, by making the airport debt self-sustaining, free part of New York City's debt margin for general improvements.

Kentucky Holds Assessors School

One hundred and thirteen county assessors and seven city assessors attended a school on assessing practices sponsored jointly by the Kentucky Department of Revenue, the Bureau of Business Research of the University of Kentucky and the National Association of Assessing Officers. During the first day and a half of the conference attention was devoted to technical and legal requirements and instruction in the use of Kentucky forms, reports, etc. The final part of the program was devoted to major assessment problems and practices, with special attention centering on real and tangible personal property, particularly farm lands and buildings.

Florida Studies Local Tax Problems

Pleas of Florida municipal officials for greater shares of state-collected revenues were partially rewarded by the Florida legislature in the appointment of a legislative joint committee to study means of solving local financial problems. The committee is to formulate "an over-all and coordinated tax program relating to local subdivisions of government."

At the same time, the Florida League of Municipalities set up a special committee to join with the coun-

ties and schools in formulating a comprehensive program for local aid.

Arizona Cities Seek Gas Tax Division[1]

Initiative petitions for a public vote at the November general election on a proposal which would give incorporated Arizona municipalities a share in gas tax collections have been formally filed in the office of Dan E. Garvey, secretary of state.

Mayors and other officials of eight cities were present at the filing. Also present were Governor Osborn and John L. Sullivan, attorney general, who are required by the constitution to witness the filing of such petitions.

The gas tax division petitions carried a total of 21,322 names of purported electors of the state. Every county in the state except Mohave and Apache were represented among the petition signers. These two counties had no signers because neither contains an incorporated municipality.

The gas tax initiative measure in substance proposes to allocate to the 35 incorporated towns and cities of Arizona 10 per cent of the total gas tax receipts. That amount would be deducted from the 30 per cent which under the present system goes to the counties. The existing 70 per cent allocation to the State Highway Department would be unchanged.

The measure specifies that the money it proposes to allocate to cities shall be used solely for "the improvement, construction, reconstruction or maintenance of municipal streets and highways and administrative expenses in connection therewith, including the retirement of bonds issued after the effective date of this act for the payment of which such revenues have been pledged.". . .

[1]From Western City, July 1946.

The petition filing brought to a climax years of continuing effort by Arizona cities to gain a share in gas tax collections. In past years cities have endeavored to attain that objective through the state legislature which has repeatedly turned them down.

Now they are carrying their case directly to the people for final decision.

The group present for the filing had arranged quite a little "show" to publicize its movement, including a radio broadcast from the secretary of state's office on which several mayors spoke briefly advocating adoption of the initiative act.

Chatters Made Controller of New York Port Authority

Carl H. Chatters, executive director of the Municipal Finance Officers Association since 1932, has been appointed controller of the Port of New York Authority. He will undertake his duties on his return from Germany where he is chief of the Public Finance Section for the Office of Military Government in Berlin.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

(Continued from Page 434)

the Council in the first P.R. election last fall, started circulating petitions this spring for a vote on the new system's repeal. In so doing it counted on dissatisfaction among the supporters of P.R., notably the Long Beach Citizens Union, which led the fight for adoption but elected only one of its five candidates to the Council. The Citizens Union directors, however, after careful consideration, issued a strong statement reaffirming the organization's support of P.R. and its determination to fight the repeal amendment. Thereupon the petitions were withdrawn.

Local Affairs Abroad . . . . . *Edited by Edward W. Weidner*

English Conferences Herald Postwar Era

NALGO Debates Affiliation with Trades Union Congress

A SIGN that English local government is still vigorous in the postwar era is the large number of conferences of various local government associations. Of special importance are the conferences of the National Association of Local Government Officers and the Association of Municipal Corporations.[1]

Affiliation with the Trades Union Congress was again the number one issue confronting NALGO. As before, the conference rejected the proposal, this time by a vote of 65,250 to 43,742. The majority favorable to rejection had decreased 60 per cent in a year's time.

In the words of the *Municipal Journal:* "It seemed that every conceivable argument was advanced both for and against the proposal. We heard speakers disclaiming that the fundamental economic interests of local government officers [employees] are similar to those of the bricklayers, engineers, laborers, gas workers, and so on. 'Unity is strength'—we heard lots about that—and delegates indignantly dissented from the suggestions of one or two of the more vigorous protagonists of affiliation that they might consider themselves 'too respectable' to link up with their fellow workers. . . .

"The suggested political significance of affiliation was a strong point with the anti-affiliationists. Officers who have a hand in the framing of policy of local authorities should be completely independent. They should be above suspicion of any suggestion that their attitude is 'tainted' with political significance. Affiliation would involve a conflict of loyalties—one to the TUC and the other to the public. Besides, would not affiliation at the present time savor of currying favor with the political party in power? There must be no 'scuttling under the umbrella.' . . .

"The advocates of affiliation just as strongly resisted these arguments. Association with the TUC, they contended, would not involve NALGO in attachment to a political party. The political levy would be taboo. Moreover, local government officers did not allow their private views to interfere with their conduct of day-to-day administration. Affiliation would add strength to NALGO. Nor would affiliation be an alternative to Whitleyism. NALGO could give a wealth of experience to the TUC. And is not the old order changing?"

One speaker expressed the hope that trade union matters would be taken out of politics, and at that time there would be no conflict of loyalties in joining the TUC. Service conditions, he emphasized, should never be a matter of politics. To this the *Municipal Journal* asks: "Has not NALGO itself used the political machinery pretty effectively in its attainment of, at any rate, some service conditions?"

Other matters stressed at the conference included the encroachments on local government by some of the new bills in Parliament, such as the new towns and health service bills. The conference urged "every possible ac-

[1]See *Municipal Journal* (London), May 31, page 1015, and June 21, page 1131; also various issues of *Local Government Service* (London) and *Municipal Review* (London).

tion to secure the continuance and expansion of the traditional effective democratic local government."

The Association of Municipal Corporations in its conference likewise was concerned with the trend away from local government in the fields of housing and health. It went further in expressing a belief that the non-county boroughs should not be stripped of all powers such as has been done with police recently. As one speaker said, the tendency was towards the large units of administration, but the last local government election showed that the interest of the electors was keener in the non-county boroughs than in the counties. Unless something was done to stop the present trend, non-county boroughs would have very little power left and would be reduced to the position of rate collectors and sanitation authorities only.

Local council members, who serve without compensation in England and Wales, put forward the suggestion that a payment for actual expenses in attending meetings be permitted. The Labor government, it was reported, is sympathetic toward the idea, but could not promise any action on the matter this session of Parliament because of the many more pressing issues and bills that it plans to bring before that body. A member of the association's conference suggested that when the government does get to such a bill, it should include in expenses any wages lost because of attendance at council or committee meetings.

Finally, one representative suggested that the aldermanic system—whereby a fourth of the membership of many councils is appointed by the elected members of the council—should be amended or ended. He stressed the growing feeling against what he considered an undemocratic practice. This is not a new proposal but it has not been considered seriously by any government recently.

Indian Report Makes Local Government Recommendations

The Bengal Administration Enquiry Committee, appointed by the governor of Bengal in 1944, made strong recommendations relative to the reorganization of local government. All members of municipal, district and union governing bodies should be locally elected instead of having a part of their membership centrally appointed, the committee said. In addition, certain small municipalities might well be consolidated with neighboring units of government, while the problem of metropolitan government in the Calcutta area required large-scale amalgamation of the several local units now independently operating. The establishment of an independent ministry of local self-government and the passage of a provincial town and country planning act were also recommended.

News on England and Wales

Service Standards: Eleven weeks after the National Whitley Council recommended a national scale of salaries, hours and working conditions for local government clerical, administrative and professional workers, 276 of over 1500 local authorities had already accepted its provisions and only twelve had rejected it.

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Rate Increases: A general increase in taxes in England and Wales is taking place this year because of the greater cost of the numerous postwar local functions.

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Police Act: The police bill, making counties and county boroughs and not non-county boroughs the police authorities, received royal assent in April.

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Local Periodicals: Several localities in

England have begun to publish monthly or quarterly periodicals in order to better inform the inhabitants on what their local government is doing. Some objections have been raised by certain publishing groups, members of which feel this will compete unduly with private enterprise.

* * *

New Housing Developments: The government has introduced a bill in the House of Commons providing for development corporations to build new towns. The corporations would be responsible to the Minister of Town and Country Planning. The proposal has been criticized on the ground that local governments should perform such functions, or at least should have great influence in the formation of policies so intimately affecting them.

* * *

Health Service Bill: The *Municipal Journal*, in an optimistic mood, recently editorialized as follows on the National Health Service Bill: "It is not impossible that, in this present move away from local government towards a managerial system, the Minister is retreating the better to effect a later advance. Whatever may be the short-term action of the Local Boundaries Commission, it is likely that sooner or later we shall find the main social services in the hands of bodies of regional size and of a uniform pattern. As it is difficult to conceive of the whole of social service departing from local government principle, it may not be an idle imagining that at some future date the comprehensive health services of the country, systematized according to the proposals of the present bill, will be passed back to local government, operating in large units. A merit of such a move would be that it would avoid the present intense dislike by the medical and allied professions of local government control and yet be able honestly to operate such a control at a later date."

* * *

Airports: The government has issued a *White Paper* on "British Air Services" which among other things stipulates that airfields required for scheduled services will be acquired by the national government. In a report on the matter the Association of Municipal Corporations strongly urges the government to take over all airports belonging to local authorities whether they will be used for scheduled services or not. Under the present *White Paper* proposal, fields used only for feeder, charter, or private flying would not come under national ownership and operation.

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Pay for Council Members

There is some demand in the Union of South Africa and in various parts of Australia for salary or cost compensation to members of local government councils.

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Reorganization

An act providing for consolidation of rural units of government is to be introduced soon into the Saskatchewan, Canada, legislature. A committee of inquiry on the reorganization of municipalities is still investigating that general subject preliminary to making recommendations.

* * *

Investigatory Commission

The *South African Municipal Magazine* has heartily endorsed the suggestion of a university lecturer that a commission of inquiry into local government in the Union be appointed. As one reason for such a move the periodical states that "the general lack of uniformity, more particularly as far as the standards of services supplied are concerned, is all too apparent and inevitably results in expensive inefficiency and waste."

Books in Review

The Municipal Year Book 1946. Edited by Clarence E. Ridley and Orin F. Nolting. Chicago, The International City Managers' Association, 1946. x, 593 pp. $8.50.

Here again is one of the best year books in any field and the most useful single reference book on American municipal government. This statement is so obviously true that no one who knows the book will dispute it. It is worth repeating if it leads a single serious seeker to this, not bigger but ever better, source of useful knowledge about the organization, financing, functions, personnel and problems of American cities, large and small.

Like each of the earlier volumes since annual publication began in 1934, the *1946 Year Book* covers some important new matters of current interest. These include urban redevelopment, municipal airports, off-street parking lots, and personnel data on veteran preference, Saturday work schedules, vacation and sick leaves and annual wages for unskilled laborers.

One of the most common uses of the book is as a source of comparative information on the organization and operations of government in different cities. Intermunicipal comparisons are always tempting, often helpful and sometimes grossly misleading and unfair. But if anyone errs in making comparisons from the *Year Book,* it is strictly his own fault.

We know of no other compendium of information on governmental matters which includes such expert paraphernalia for guidance of the user. Beginning with the table of contents and ending with the excellent index, these helps include a chapter on "How to Use the Year Book"; an up-to-date economic classification of cities over 10,000; careful explanations of tables and charts; analytical summary articles on recent developments in such fields as federal-city relations, personnel developments in 1945, and more than 25 others; and copious bibliographies and references to other sources of information. Three pages (11-14) on the use of statistical data constitute a remarkably clear, condensed manual on how to use and to avoid misusing comparative local government statistics.

An excellent device which avoids the ballooning of the *Year Book* to unmanageable proportions is inclusion in the index of references to compilations and articles in earlier volumes that have not become so outmoded as to justify revision. Thus, the *Year Book* for several years has been able to carry new features and still keep within or near a 600-page limit. A word to the wise: Keep your *Year Book*!

It may seem ungracious to find a gap in so good a work. However, we cannot refrain from noting that the *Year Book* does not yield the information that some 8,687,000 Americans in eleven cities elect their municipal governing bodies by proportional representation. Thus, Cincinnati is reported, in the same terms as Detroit and Pittsburgh, as having a council of nine members elected at large. Yet, the *Year Book* does tell us that 8,687,000 Americans (populations given to the nearest 1000) in seventeen cities still support bicameral councils.

But do you want to know something specific about city government in the U. S.? By all means, turn first to the index of the *1946 Municipal Year Book.*

J. E. B.

Southern State and Local Finance Trends and the War. By James W. Martin. Lexington, University of Kentucky Press, 1945. 106 pp. Fifty cents.

A number of significant studies have

appeared in the last decade or two dealing with specific phases of public finance at various levels of government in the South. The essay on trends by Professor Martin is a distinctive contribution to the literature in that it presents a well balanced, comprehensive analysis and interpretation of government finance on a regional basis.

Here is a study that is more than a mere description of what the financial statistics show for a given state or local unit. The author has engineered a lucid evaluation of what has happened since World War I at the state and local levels in the South in terms of revenue policy and administration, expenditures, debts, intergovernmental relations and general fiscal administration. While the title indicates an analysis of trends focusing on the impact of World War II, the apparent purpose was to develop the factual background for interpreting changes in major policies as indicated by available statistics and numerous special investigations. In the opinion of the reviewer, the author has adequately accomplished his purpose.

No government finance officer who wishes to bring his thinking up to date can afford to miss reading this important monograph. In fact, the same may be said for every student of public administration.

For long range fiscal planning, far more data are needed than are available in most southern states, or elsewhere. As indicated in the text and in an appendix, there are a number of limitations in the data, particularly for local government, and the conclusions must be interpreted accordingly.

One of the most impressive contributions in the entire essay is the chapter covering general fiscal management. Professor Martin points out that one of the chief results of the impact of the war was to make governments and their finance officers more acutely aware of the need for long range fiscal planning. The treatment of budget principles and trends should prove of unusual interest to such officers, whether state or local. A number of examples are cited where outstanding work is being done by certain states and municipalities.

WILLIAM G. HERZEL
Kentucky Department of Revenue

Know Pennsylvania: Your State and Local Government. By Louise M. Young and Harold F. Alderfer. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania Book Service, 1946. 180 pp.

This "Handbook of Basic Information" by the vice president of the Pennsylvania League of Women Voters and the director of the Bureau of Municipal Affairs, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, should be very useful to civic organizations, schools and citizens of Pennsylvania who feel "a personal concern" for their state and community.

The facts are well organized and presented in thirteen chapters covering local government, the constitution, nominations and elections, the principal state departments, and functions of state and local agencies. Most of the column breaks are in the form of questions, e.g., "What is the Approximate Allocation of the Total Tax Burden?"

This effort is worthy of emulation in other states. An index would make it easier to use for quick reference.

J. E. B.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Airports

The Local Development of Airport Facilities. New York 5, Cities Service Oil Company, 1946. 19 pp. Illus.

Contracts

The Protection of the Public Inter-

...sts in Public Contracts. By Herman G. James. Chicago 37, Public Administration Service, 1946. 90 pp. $2.

Directories

Directory of City and Town Officials of Colorado 1946. Boulder, Colorado Municipal League, 1946. 16 pp.

GRA Directory of Organizations and Individuals Professionally Engaged in Governmental Research.[1] New York 20, Governmental Research Association, 1946. 44 pp. $1.50.

Guide to Public Affairs Organizations with Notes on Public Affairs Informational materials. By Charles R. Read and Samuel Marble. Washington, D. C., American Council on Public Affairs, Public Affairs Press, 1946. vi, 129 pp. $2.

Officials of Washington Cities. By Belle Reeves. Olympia, Office of Secretary of State, 1946. 30 pp.

United States Government Manual —1946. (First edition, revised to May 1) Washington 25, Division of Public Inquiries, Governmental Information Service, Bureau of the Budget, 1946. 708 pp. $1.

Employment

City Employment in 1944. Washington, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1946. 48 pp.

Interstate Relations

Incodel. The Interstate Commission on the Delaware River Basin. A Decade of Planned Progress 1936-1946. Philadelphia, the Commission, 1946. 25 pp.

Land Use

1945 Summary of Outstanding Federal and State Legislation Affecting Rural Land Use. Regular Sessions of Legislatures in 1945. Washington, D. C., United State Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, 1946. 127 pp.

Municipalities

Digest of 1946 Laws Affecting Towns. Albany, Association of Towns of the State of New York, 1946. 36 pp.

Twelfth Annual Convention, May 16-17, 1946, Association of Washington Cities with the cooperation of the Bureau of Public Administration, University of Washington. Business Meetings, Resolutions, New Officers, Registration. Seattle, the Association, 1946. 19 pp.

Planning

A Master Plan for the Physical Development of the City. Richmond, Virginia, City Planning Commission, 1946. 280 pp. Illus. Maps.

New York Means Business in the Capital District. Counties of Warren, Saratoga, Schenectady, Washington, Schoharie, Albany and Rensselaer. **New York Means Business in the Syracuse Area.** Counties of Oswego, Cayuga, Onondaga, Cortland and Madison. Albany, New York State Department of Commerce, 1946. 29 pp. each.

Proposed Plan for Redevelopment of the Riverfront. City of Detroit Master Plan. Detroit, City Plan Commission, 1946. 32 pp. Illus.

Politics

Handbook of Politics and Voter's Guide. By Lowell Mellett. New York, Penguin Books, Inc., 1946. 138 pp. 25 cents.

Public Health

Alcoholism Is a Sickness. By Herbert Yahraes. New York 20, Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 1946. 32 pp. Ten cents.

Public Safety

Accident Facts. Chicago 6, National Safety Council, Inc., 1946. 96 pp. 50 cents. (Discounts on quantity orders.)

Action Program. The President's Highway Safety Conference. A Summary of the Recommendations of Conference Committees on Laws and Ordinances. Washington, D. C., 1946. 23 pp.

A Blueprint for Action. A Presenta-

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[1]For a review of this pamphlet see page 421.

tion of the National Traffic Safety Contest. Chicago 6, National Safety Council, 1946. 16 pp. Illus.

Public Welfare

Laws of Illinois Relating to Public Aid 1945-1947. Springfield, Illinois Public Aid Commission, 1946. xi, 88 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Balances in State General, Highway, and Postwar-Reserve Funds in 1946 (Final). By N. B. Gerry. Washington, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1946. 14 pp.

Balancing Public Expenditures. New York 7, Tax Institute, 1946. 4 pp. 25 cents.

City Capital Outlay from 1937 Through 1943. By Inez A. Applebee and Leon Rothenberg. Washington, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1946. 21 pp.

City Debt in 1944. Washington, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1946. 60 pp.

A Half Century of Public Debt. New York 7, Tax Institute, 1946. 5 pp. Twenty-five cents.

1945 Proceedings of the 38th Annual Conference on Taxation. Edited by Raymond E. Manning. Washington, D. C., National Tax Association, 1946. xix, 344 pp. $3.75.

Taxation of Horse Racing. Chicago 37, Federation of Tax Administrators, 1946. 30 pp. Seventy-five cents.

Total Government Expenditures in 1944. New York 7, Tax Institute, 1946. 8 pp. 25 cents.

Traffic

Every Policeman a Traffic Officer. The Story of the Traffic System Which Gave Milwaukee for Years the Lowest Death Rate from Motor Vehicles. Digest of an address before the Second Annual Highway Traffic Conference of the Eno Foundation for Highway Traffic Control. Saugatuck, Connecticut, the Foundation, 1946. 16 pp.

Model Traffic Ordinance. As Revised and Approved by the National Conference on Street and Highway Safety. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1946. 34 pp. Ten cents.

Veterans

Facts About Jobs in Government for Veterans. Chicago, Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, 1946. 17 pp.

Veterans on the Move. Report on Transient Veterans. New York 19, National Committee on Service to Veterans of the National Social Welfare Assembly, 1946. 16 pp. Ten cents.